



# SINGHI JAINA SERIES

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## PROFESSOR G. BÜHLER'S THE LIFE OF HEMACANDRĀCĀRYA

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN

BY

PROF. DR. MANILAL PATEL, PH. D. (MARBURG)

Vis'va-Bharati, SANTINIKETAN



## SINGHI JAINA JÑĀNAPĪTHA

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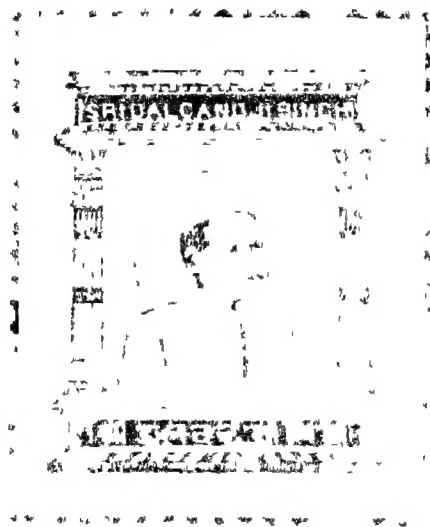
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# SINGHI JAINA SERIES

VOLUME II



LIFE OF HEMACHANDRA RACHANA

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THE  
**LIFE OF HEMACANDRĀCĀRYA**

BY  
**PROFESSOR DR. G. BÜHLER**  
VIENNA

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN  
BY  
**PROFESSOR DR. MANILAL PATEL, PH. D. (MARBURG)**  
**VIDYĀBHAVANA, VIŚVA BHĀRATI, ŚĀNTINIKETAN**

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WITH A FOREWORD  
BY  
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## PREFACE

The following essay is a translation of the late Professor G. Bühler's original German treatise entitled "Ueber das Leben des Jaina Monches Hemachandra, des Schülers des Devachandra aus der Vajrasākhā," which appeared in the *Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, vol. xxxvii (1889), pp 171-258.<sup>1</sup> Bühler's treatise has since<sup>2</sup> remained the most authentic and thorough biographical statement on the life of Hemacandra ārya (1086<sup>3</sup>-1173 A. D.), the most eminent Jaina (Śvetāmbara) monk and polymath of mediæval Gujarat. A shrewd and talented exponent of his faith, Hemacandra won himself an undying name in the history of Jainism. He wielded great influence over Jayasimha Siddharāja (A. D. 1094-1143), one of the mightiest monarchs of Gujarat, and actually converted his successor, king Kumārapāla, so that the Jaina religion gained a firm footing in Gujarat, which has not been shaken as yet. Hemacandra was, moreover, one of the greatest Indian scholars of all time, whose vast learning and literary labours are sufficient to secure him an honoured place in the history of Indian Philology. His life should indeed be of great appeal and interest, not only to the students of Jainism but also to those of Sanskrit literature and of ancient Indian history and culture. None would therefore dispute the desirability of rescuing Bühler's masterly treatise on the life of Hemacandra from the almost obsolete files of the above-mentioned Viennese journal and of presenting an English version of the same so as to attract a wider circle of readers.

It only remains for me to perform the very pleasant task of expressing my deep gratitude to Muni Jinavijayaji and to Sjt Bahādur Singhji Singhi, the editor and the founder of the *Singhi Jaina Series*, for their kind and helpful interest in my humble literary activities. I am also specially indebted to Professor Dr. M. Winternitz, who not only has kindly written the Foreword to this work but has also carefully read the printed forms in advance and suggested improvements, most of which are incorporated in the *Errata*. To my friend and colleague, Professor Krishna Kripalani, B. A., Bar-at-law, my thanks are due for his kindly going through the MS. with me.

Vidyabhavana,  
Visva-Bharati,  
SANTINIKETAN, }  
July, 1936.

M. P.

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<sup>1</sup> Simultaneously also issued as a separate reprint.

<sup>2</sup> See also T. Zachariæ, *Die ind. Wörterbücher* (= *GILP* 1.3b [1927]), pp. 30-35; H. Jacobi, *ERE*, vol. vi, p. 591; J. Hertel, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hemacandra's Parisisṭuparvan*, Leipzig (1908), Einleitung, pp. 1-5.

<sup>3</sup> According to Jacobi's calculation the birthdate of Hemacandra would be the 1st December, 1088 A. D., see Hertel, *ibid* p. 1, n. 2.



## PREFACE BY THE GENERAL EDITOR.

Professor George Buhler was one of those great German scholars to whom largely goes the credit for the development of the science of Indology. His whole life was dedicated to the study and research of ancient Indian history and literature. Indian archeology and epigraphy are greatly indebted to this scholar for his contributions. He brought to bear upon these subjects a trained and unbiassed mind. His study of the history and literature of the Jaina religion was specially painstaking and sympathetic. Prof. Herman Jacobi derived great support from the researches of Dr. Buhler in refuting the view of Prof. Weber that Jainism was merely a sect of Buddhism and in establishing the antiquity and the independence of Jainism as a religious sect. Dr. Buhler's researches on the Jaina stupa at Mathura and inscriptions thereon deserve special mention.

He was the first scholar to discuss critically and exhaustively, as far as the material available to him allowed, the life and times of Hemacandra—one of the greatest figures of the Jaina Church. Dr. Buhler was an officer in the Educational Department of the Bombay Government and had rare opportunities of visiting and examining some of the famous Jaina Bhandars of Gujarat and Rajputana. These investigations provided him with ample material which enabled him to prepare the present study on Hemacandra. He possessed that acumen and insight which made him appreciate the proper historical value of such Prabandha works as the *Prabhāvalacarita* and the *Prabandhaśāntāmanī*.

The present study on the life of Hemacandra was first published in German language about fifty years back. Since that time much new material has been discovered which throws considerable light on the problems which were then obscure to this learned scholar.

The material on which he had to rely was then only in the form of MSS. which were defective in many ways. Most of it is now more or less critically edited and published. All the works of Hemacandra himself were also not available to him in properly edited and printed form. So it is but natural that in the light of this new and more adequate material some discrepancies should be discovered in this learned study.

Of the new material, that has been discovered since Dr Bühler published his study, the *Kumārapālāpratibodha* of Somaprabhācārya should be mentioned first. This work was completed in the year V S 1241 (= A D 1185) that is eleven years after the death of Hemacandra. It was composed and finished by Somaprabhācārya while residing at Anahillapura in the *vasati* (that is the residence) of the post-laureate Śrīpāla. Three disciples of Hemacandra—namely Mahendra muni, Vardhamāna muni and Guṇacandra gaṇi—had attended to it with great interest as it was being read to them. The first copies of the work were prepared by the order of Abhayakumāra—a leading rich citizen of Anahillapura and a favourite of Kumārapāla. Thus this book is the work of a contemporary learned man who was in close contact of Hemacandra and his pupils and devotees. Though this work is voluminous, unfortunately it does not give as much information about the lives of Kumārapāla and Hemacandra as to satisfy our expectations. However whatever information it gives is quite reliable and of first class historical importance. Dr Bühler was altogether unaware of this work.

Next to this comes the *Moharājaparāṇaya* nāṭaka of Yasahpāla a contemporary of Hemacandra and Kumārapāla. Dr Bühler was aware of this drama and had taken notice of it, but it appears he had not himself gone through this work. If he had availed himself of both these works he would have been able to give a more accurate and satisfactory account of the conversion of Kumārapāla by Hemacandra.

In addition to these two literary works we have been fortunate enough to discover other historical references which help us in understanding more clearly and definitely matters which were regarded by Dr Bühler as doubtful or incapable of a consistent explanation. For example, take the year of the conquest of Mālava by Siddharāja. Now we have discovered certain colophons at the end of MSS which help us in settling this question. Again Dr Bühler has raised many doubts as to the reliability of the evidence which goes to show the influence of other learned Jaina Ācāryas on Siddharāja (Chapt IV p 33). These doubts get solved by the *prasasti* of V S 1193 at the end of the *Manusmṛatīśāstrī* of Candrasūri which is published in the fifth report of Prof. Peterson (pp 7-18).

It appears that Dr Bühler could not go through all the works of Hemacandra carefully. Otherwise some of the mistakes could have been avoided. For example Bühler says—“In none of his works, known so far, does Hemacandra give the name, of his teacher, although ample opportunity should have been offered for the same” (p 10). It is rather strange that Dr Bühler should pass such a remark. In fact, in the *Trisastīśāstrīśāstrī* from whose 10th parvan he gives copious quotations, Hemacandra not only refers to his Guru but says that it was through his *prasāda* (blessings) that he could be so rich in learning\*. As Dr Bühler probably could not

\* शिष्यस्तस्य च तीर्थमेकमवने पावित्र्यकृज्जगत्तम साहजद्विदशापगाहिमगिरिर्विश्वप्रबोधार्थमा ।

कृत्वा स्थानकवृत्ति-शान्तिचरिते प्राप्त प्रसिद्धिं परा सूरिमूरितप प्रभाववसति श्रीदेवचन्द्रोऽनवत् ॥ १४ ॥

आचार्यो हेमचन्द्रोऽभूत्तपादाभ्युज्जयदपद । तन्मयादादधियतज्ञानसम्पन्नमहोदय ॥ १५ ॥

त्रिषष्टिशलाकापुरुषचरित्र, पर्व १०, प्रशस्ति ।

read this huge Jaina Epic by Hemacandra he could not properly appreciate the poetic gifts of the great Ācārya. Dr Buhler does not seem to have read carefully the *Chandonaśāsana* of Hemacandra—a work on metrics—otherwise he would not have said that the work does not contain verses in praise of Siddharāja (p. 16). The *Viatti* has verses both in praise of Kumārapāla as well as Siddharāja. Dr Buhler's estimate of Hemacandra's grammar is also defective. He says—'The grammar does not, it is true, contain 125 000 *Ślokas*, as Merutunga would have us believe. But including the commentaries and the appendices which, in their turn, have commentaries, it has something like 20,000 to 30,000 *Ślokas*' (p. 18). There is enough evidence to support the opinion of Merutunga that the *Siddha-Hema* grammar consists of 125 000 *ślokas*. Hemacandra himself wrote a *Bhavanīyā* resembling the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. From older references we learn that this *Nyāsa* alone consisted of 80–8 000 verses. Unfortunately a great part of this *Nyāsa* appears to be lost. A few fragments of this *Nyāsa* are, however, found in old Jaina Bhandāris. These alone amount to about 20 000 to 25 000 verses. The *Setropāṭha*, the *Ughatīkā*, the *Bhātīkā*, the *Dhātupāṭha*, the *Unādepāṭha*, the *Loṇapāṭhaśāsana* etc. of this grammar, which are mostly printed and published, consist of no less than fifty thousand *ślokas*.

Dr Buhler confuses the *Pranāthanimānāsā* of Hemacandra with the *Syādvādāśamānāsā* which is in reality a commentary by Mallisena on the *Ājyayogavivaraṇadādibhāṣaśilā*—a hymn of 32 verses—by Hemacandra. This *Pranāthanimānāsā* is incomplete. There is reason to believe that this was probably his last work.

Thus one finds that Dr Buhler's account of the life of Hemacandra requires to be revised and corrected at several places in the light of new material. I cannot give here all such revisions and corrections with relevant evidence, for the fear that it might double the bulk of the volume. Again it is in the fitness of things that I should leave this study which has become a classic on the subject as it is.

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\*

My attention was first drawn to this learned study on the life of Hemacandra in the year 1915–16 when I was engaged in editing the *Kumārapālapratibodha* of Somaprabhācārya, by my late lamented friend Mr C D Dalal the originator and the first editor of the G O S. As I did not then know German I had to wait for two years before I got the substance of it at Poona through a German-knowing friend of mine. I was so impressed with its importance as a contribution on the subject that I thought of getting it translated into English and published in a handy form. Incidentally Mr. Moticand G. Kapadia of Bombay, who also came to learn of the importance of this work, expressed his desire to defray the expenses of the translation work. I entrusted the work to Miss. Kohn who is quite at home in both German and English. This translation



however, remained with Mr Kapadia for a number of years without being published I, however, desired that this valuable work should be made accessible to scholars who do not know German and who are interested in the subject During my stay at Vis'va-bhārati Śantiniketan, I talked to my friend Dr Manibhai Patel, of my intention He readily agreed to prepare an English rendering of this study and enthusiastically carried out the work Thus after twenty years I had the satisfaction of making this work accessible to scholars in the English garb in the *Singhi Jaina series*

It is a matter of great pleasure to me that the learned and famous scholar Prof M Winternitz, the worthy *Sisya* of Dr Buhler has contributed an excellent foreword to this English rendering of his *Guru's* work Our best thanks—of myself and of Babu Bahādursinghaji, the noble founder of this series—are due to him for this kindness

BHARATI-NIVASA, }  
AHAMEDABAD }

JINA VIJAYA

## FOREWORD

*Kaṭhākalāsaravajña*, "The Omniscient of the Kali Age", was the title given to the great Jaina monk Hemacandra by his co-religionists, and he well deserved this title and his fame, on account of the astounding many-sidedness of his literary achievements. He was indeed one of the most versatile and prolific writers, both as a poet and as a scholar. It is due to him that Gujarat became a main stronghold of the Śvetāmbara Jains and has remained so for centuries, and that Jaina literature flourished there particularly in the 12th and 13th centuries. By his influence on the two Caulukya kings Jayasinha Siddhartha, and Kumārapala he was able to direct, in some measure, the destinies and the cultural progress of his native country. But not only Gujarat and the Jaina community owe a great debt of gratitude to Hemacandra, he has also a place of honour in general Sanskrit literature as a compiler of useful and important works on grammar, lexicography, poetics and metrics.

Among his poetical works his huge epic on the "Lives of the Sixty-three Excellent Men" (*Ṛṣasṭi-Sālīhāpuruṣa-Carita*) is perhaps best known. Though not without merit as a work of poetry, a Mahākāvya, as it is described by the author himself, yet its main purpose is instruction and edification. For us it is invaluable as a storehouse of ancient legendary lore and tradition. The appendix to this work, the *Parivṛtta-Purāṇa* also called "Lives of the Series of Elders" (*Śhamāra'-Carita*) is even more important by its wealth of folklore and stories of all kinds. He has preserved to us many popular proverbs, and in one of his stories even folk-songs in dialect.

As a devout Jaina he also composed some hymns of praise (*Stotras*). His "Hymn to the Passionless (Mahāvira)", the *Vīṭaṇḍyastotra*, is at the same time a poetical manual of the Jaina religion.

Hemacandra is always more of a scholar and a moralist than a poet, though not without taste and considerable skill in the use of the Kāvya style. This is also shown by his didactic poem, the *Yogasāstra*, consisting of a text in simple śloka and a commentary in the style of ornate poetry, containing also stories.

As a poet, as a historian in some way, and as a grammarian, all at the same time, Hemacandra proved himself in the one epic poem *Kumārapāla-Carita*, also known as *Dvyāśraya-Kāvya*, because it is written in two languages, Sanskrit and Prakrit. The

poem describes the history of the Caulukyās of Anhilvād and more especially of Kumārapāla, the author's great patron, but at the same time it is intended to illustrate the rules of his own Sanskrit and Prakrit grammars.

Hemacandra's grammar, called *Siddhahemacandra* or *Haṃavyākaraṇa*, though hardly more than an improved edition of Śākatāyana's grammar, has yet been described by F. Kielhorn as "the best grammar of the Indian middle ages" on account of its practical arrangement and terminology. He also added himself a commentary and both *Unādiganasūtra* and *Dhātupāṭha* to his grammar. Like other grammarians he also wrote a *Liṅgīnus'āsana*. The eighth chapter of his *Siddhahemacandra* is devoted to Prakrit grammar, which is still the most important grammar of the Prakrit dialects we possess. In his Prakrit grammar he has shown again his interest in popular poetry by preserving for us some pretty Apabhramśa songs which closely resemble the songs in Hāla's *Sattasāl*. In his manual of metrics he even composed Apabhramśa songs himself in illustration of the Apabhramśa metres, and it seems to be due to Hemacandra, as Professor H. D. Velankar (*Annals Bhandarkar Inst.* 14, p. 15) has suggested, that Apabhramśa has become a literary language among Jaina Yatis.

Hemacandra's learned books, it is true, are not distinguished by any great originality, but they display a truly encyclopaedic erudition and an enormous amount of reading, besides a practical sense which makes them very useful. This applies also to his manuals of poetics and metrics, the *Kāmyānus'āsana* and the *Chandonnu'sāsana*, each accompanied by the author's own commentary.

Of the greatest importance for Sanskrit lexicography are the two works of Hemacandra on this subject, his synonymic lexicon *Abhūdhanacintāmanimālā* with a commentary by the author himself, and his homonymic lexicon *Anekārthasamgraha*, with a commentary by the author's pupil Mahendrasūri. A supplement to the *Abhūdhanacintāmanī* is the *Nighantus'ara*, a glossary of botanical terms in 396 śloka. Of inestimable value is his Prakrit lexicon *Deśinīmanuṣū*. All these lexicons are so very valuable, because Hemacandra was able to use sources which are lost to us, as also on account of their practical arrangement and the clear explanations.

Hemacandra's literary activity also extended to philosophy. He wrote a work on logic, the *Pramāṇa-Mīmāṃsā*, "Examination of the Means of Proof," again with his own commentary. And his *Anyayogaryavacchedadvāitavākya*, 32 verses in praise of Mahāvīra and a treatise on logic at the same time, formed the basis for Mallisena's *Syādvādāmāṅgaṇī*, which is not only a commentary on Hemacandra's treatise, but also an independent work on Jaina philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

1 Until a short time ago it was believed that Hemacandra is also the author of a *Laṅhva-Arhamṇis'āstra*, a Jaina work on law and politics, said to be a summary of a larger work in Prakrit, and published with a Gujarati commentary at Ahmedabad, 1906. But Mr. C. R. Jain (see *The Jaina Gazette*, January 1935, pp. 9ff.) assures us, on the authority of Mr. Puraṇ Chand Nahar, that this "Arhamṇī" is a spurious work of the 19th century. It is no loss to the fame of Hemacandra, if we have to omit this insignificant compilation from the list of his works.

It was my revered *Guru*, the late George Buhler, one of the pioneers of Jinistic studies, who first drew the attention of scholars to the works of Hemacandra and their importance for the history of Indian literature. His *Life of Hemacandra*, though written as far back as 1889, far from being antiquated, is still the most authentic work on the life of the great Jaina monk. More than that, Buhler's treatise cannot be too strongly recommended to every student of Indian history as a perfect model of historical research. No one has shown better than Buhler, how works of the Prabandha type, such as Prabhācandra's *Prabhāvakacarita*, Merutuṅga's *Prabandharintāmani*, and Rāśāśekhara's *Prabandhakos'a*,<sup>2</sup> full of legends and worthless anecdotes as they are, may yet, by a careful critical investigation, be used as sources of history.

It was, therefore, a great pleasure to me, when Dr. Manilal Patol, Professor in the Vidyābhavana, Viśva-Bhārati, informed me that he had translated Buhler's classical essay into English, and that it was to form a volume in the excellent *Singhi Jaina Series* published by the Rev Jinavijaya Muni, from Viśva Bhārati, Śāntiniketan, and I am happy to be able to introduce this important work from the pen of my *Guru* in its new garb which will make it accessible to fellow-students who have hitherto been unable to read it in the original German.

M WINTERNITZ

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<sup>2</sup> The *Prabandharintāmani* and the *Prabandhakos'a* have lately been published in excellent editions by Jinavijaya Muni, Singhi Professor of Jaina Culture at Viśva-Bhārati, Śāntiniketan, in the *Singhi Jaina Series*, where also an edition of the *Prabhāvakacarita* is in preparation.



# THE LIFE OF HEMACANDRA

## CHAPTER I

### The Sources

**A**LTHOUGH European Orientalists have, during the last 50 years, paid very close attention to the works of Hemacandra, there still remains the want of a thorough research in the life of this remarkable man who, through his extensive literary activity, made the name of the Śvetāmbaras universally known in the learned circles of India, and who, because of his influence over a mighty monarch of Gujarat during the second half of the 12th century, gained a predominant place for the Jaina doctrine for the time being in his own native land. Apart from the inadequate, and partly inaccurate, data in H. H. Wilson's works and in the prefaces to the editions of some of Hemacandra's works, the only detailed account of the life of this famous monk is found in K. Forbes' *Rās Mālā*, (second edition, Bombay, 1878) pp 145-157. A short article by Bhau Daji in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. IX, p. 222f, is intended to supplement this account. Forbes' narrative is essentially a reproduction of the informations found in Merutungaśārya's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*. The anecdotes contained in this last-named work are put in a better chronological order, while the most striking improbabilities are set aside. At the end, some legends are appended which are taken from the oral tradition. This treatment of the material corresponds to the character of Forbes' work which makes no claim to give a critical adaptation of the history of Gujarat, but has as its title "A Garland of Historical Legends".

Since the year 1856, when the *Rās Mālā* appeared, the systematic research carried on in the Jaina-Libraries in Western India has brought to light a large mass of new material for the life of Hemacandra. On the one hand, numerous works, such as *Prabhāvakacarita*, *Prabandhakosā*, Commentaries on the *Rasmandalastotra*, and a number of *Kumārapālacaritas* or *Kumārārāsas* have been discovered which deal more or less in detail with the life of this 'spiritual head of the *Kaliyuga*', on the other hand, Hemacandra's own works, probably all of them and almost in complete form, are now accessible. It is therefore now possible to examine critically the information obtained through the secondary sources by comparing them with one another and with Hemacandra's own utterances—these are, alas! very rare—about his person and life-experiences. The character of these secondary sources, as well as the fact that the greater number of them were written long after Hemacandra's time and that they belong to the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, renders it unnecessary to consider them collectively. A selection is quite sufficient, as the later authors for the most part only copy what their predecessors wrote.

For the following research I have used

1 The *Prabhāvakacarita*, a collection of life-sketches of 22 Jaina *Ācāryas*, who bestowed glory on their faith, it was written about 1250, about 80 years after Hemacandra's death, by Prabhācandra and Pradyumnasūri.<sup>1</sup>

2 The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* by Maṇutungācārya of Vaidhamānapura or Vadhavān in Kāthiāvad a collection of historical legends, completed on the full-moon day of the Vaiśākha month, Vikrama Samvat 1362, that is, in April-May 1305 or 1306 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

3 The *Prabandhakosā* by Rājasekhara a collection of the biographies of famous monks, poets and statesmen completed in Dhili or Delhi, Vikrama Samvat 1405, i. e. 1348-49 A. D.<sup>3</sup>

4 The *Kumārapālacarita* by Jinamandana Upādhyāya, a life-story of the King Kumārapāla of Gujarat V. S. 1199-1230, completed in Vikrama Samvat 1492, i. e. 1435-6 A. D.<sup>4</sup>

The relationship of these works with one another is as follows. The *Prabhāvakacarita* and the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* represent two distinct—and apparently independent of each other—currents of tradition. They diverge very often and, as regards some parts, they do so in many important points, the older work gives us in some cases less trustworthy data. The author of the *Prabandhakosā* knows the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* and regards his own account of Hemacandra as an appendix to the same. He says he will not repeat what is said in that work (*Prabandhacintāmaṇi*), he will, on the contrary, acquaint his readers with a number of unknown anecdotes.<sup>5</sup> The material put forth by him is, it is true, generally not to be found in earlier works and appears to have been adapted from tradition to which he so often refers. Lastly, the *Kumārapālacarita* is a loose compilation from the three first-named and from several other similar works. Here and there, contradictory accounts of the *Prabhāvakacarita* and of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*

have been placed side by side, in other cases, attempts have been made to bring them in accord by alterations. These repetitions have, of course, no great worth, except when Jinamandana's method of broader representation is instrumental to a better understanding of the notes of his predecessors which were sometimes too brief. His extracts from some older and hardly accessible works are, on the other hand, of greater value,—particularly those from the *Moharājaparājaya*, a drama which Yaśahpāla, a councillor or a minister of the 'Emperor' Ajayadeve, i.e. of the king Ajayapāla of Gujarat, wrote in honour of Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism.<sup>6</sup> As Ajayapāla reigned immediately after Kumārapāla and sat on the throne only for three years, the informations given in the drama deserve serious attention as being those of a contemporary source.

Like all the *Caritras* and *Prabandhas*, even the oldest of the works enumerated are not purely historical sources, nor are they comparable to the European Chronicles of the Middle Ages or to those of the Arabs. On the whole they are sectarian writings and when using them, one must take into account not only the tendencies of the sect from which they emanate, but also other minor details and some peculiarities of the Indian character. According to the definition which Rājasēkhara gives in his introduction to the *Prabandhalosa*,<sup>1</sup> the *Caritras* of the Jainas are the biographies of the Tirthankaras or Prophets—the ancient, whole-or half-mythical Emperors of India who are occasionally called *Cakravartins*—and of the Scers, i.e. the great, ancient chiefs of the sects down to Ārya-Rakṣita who must have died in the year 557 after Vira or 30 A. D. According to him, the stories of men of later times, monks as well as laymen, are designated as 'Prabandha'. The motives with which the *Caritras* and the *Prabandhas* were written, are to edify the congregations, to convince them of the magnificence and the might of the Jaina faith and to supply the monks with the material for their sermons, or, when the subject is purely of worldly interest, to provide the public with pleasant entertainment. Metrical works of this class were written always according to the rules of the Brahmanical poetics and were meant to exhibit the artistic skill and scholarship of the authors. As the authors start out with this point of view before them, they naturally make their works collections of interesting anecdotes serving their purpose rather than actual biographies or exact accounts of events in the past. They move almost always by leaps and bounds and often leave very important points entirely in darkness. At the same time, their information often betrays strong, intentional colouring in the interest of their own faith, whereas in other places poetic exaggerations or devices which are to make the story piquant, may easily be detected. Other circumstances which render it more difficult for us to ascertain the historical valuation of the *Caritras* and the *Prabandhas* are the uncertainty of their original sources which for the major part consist of the oral tradition of the schools of the monks or of the bards and of the fearful belief in miracles and superstitions which were perhaps more deep-rooted in the Indians than in the European peoples of the Middle Ages.

The authors of the *Prabandhas* admit most of the points referred to above, thereby themselves admitting their main weaknesses. Thus, Rājasēkhara says in the Introduction to the *Prabandhalosa*, whilst at the same time giving interesting advice to the preachers of his faith

“Here the pupil must humbly study everything, as prescribed, under a teacher



who has crossed the ocean of the holy scripture and eagerly fulfils his religious duties. Then for the salvation of the pious ones, he must deliver that sermon which stills the agony of sin, and the prescription for the same is thus the holy scripture must be read without committing any mistake, without contracting words, without omitting syllables. The explanation of the same should be given in a noble, sweet speech. Duly protecting one's body and looking round upon those who have gathered, one must speak so long as the matter is understood. *The speaker can generally attain his aim with the Caritras and the Prabandhas* "

Still greater details are given by Merutunga in the Introduction to the *Prabandhacintāmanī*, verses 5-7, as to the purpose of his work and the character of his sources<sup>8</sup>.

5. 'The famous Gaṇin Guṇacandra has produced the first copy of the new work, the *Prabandhacintāmanī*, which is so lovely as the *Mahābhārata*'.

6. 'The old tales do not delight the hearts of the shrewd so much, for they have heard the same very often, I am therefore compiling the book *Prabandhacintāmanī* with (the use of) biographies (of my time) of noble men who are nearer to us'

7. 'Even if the tales which the wise tell according to their understanding necessarily become different in character, clever people should, however, not criticize this work maliciously, as it rests on a good tradition'

Thus, Merutunga confesses that his chief purpose was to entertain his public and that there were several contradictory accounts in existence as to the persons and events described by him. He is quite conscious of the uncertainty of the foundation on which his building rests. His grounds of consolation are of very doubtful worth.

These confessions and the fact that besides obvious absurdities, a large number of anachronisms, omissions and other errors occur in all the parts of the *Prabandhas*, which can be controlled by the accounts of authentic sources, make it essential for one to take the greatest precaution when using them. They should not, however, lead one to a complete rejection of the accounts contained therein, for the *Prabandhas* do contain much that is well corroborated by the inscriptions and other reliable sources. Particularly one must admit that the persons appearing in the older as well as later (*Prabandhas*) are all historical. However often a person is placed too early or too late, or the most contrary things are said about him, yet there is not a single instance in which one can with certainty assume that a particular man mentioned by him be a creation of the author's imagination. On the contrary, almost every new inscription, every collection of old manuscripts, and each newly discovered historical work supplies evidence for the actual existence of one or other of the personalities mentioned by them. So also those dates which they give as exact deserve always our most earnest consideration. Whenever these occur in other works of this class, which are usually independent of one another, we may without any hesitation accept them as historically correct. Naturally the same is also the case with other information. It will be seen from what follows that all the statements about Hemacandra in the *Prabhāvakacaritra* as also in the *Prabandhacintāmanī* which are not from the outset doubtful because of their character, are completely correct. On

the whole, however, it must be admitted that even in the *Prabhāvakacarita* Hemacandra has become a semi-mythical personality. Considering the character of the *Prabandhas* described above, Hemacandra's own statements about his person and his time are naturally of the greatest significance. They are principally to be found

1. In the Sanskrit *Dvyāś'rayamahākāvya*, which gives a summary of the History of the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarat, from Mūlarāja down to Kumārapāla (Note 28),

2. In the Prakrit *Dvyāś'rayamahākāvya* or *Kumāravalācarīya*, which celebrates his patron Kumārapāla (Note 88),

3. In the *Prasasti* to his Grammar which is written in honour of his first patron Jayasimha Siddharāja and the ancestors of the same (Note 33),

4. In the *Mahāvīracarita* which belongs to the *Trisastis'alākāpurusacarita* (Note 66).

Besides, isolated facts are found scattered in almost all of his works. Without these authentic communications, a research into Hemacandra's life would yield results of little certainty. With the help of them, at least an outline of his biography can be drawn. There remain, however, significant gaps which cannot be filled up for the present.

## CHAPTER II

### Hemacandra's Youth

Hemacandra's birthplace was, according to all accounts, Dhandhukā, a town which was very important in former times and is even now not insignificant. It belongs to the district of Ahmedabad and lies<sup>9</sup> just on the frontier between the main land of Gujarat and the peninsula of Kāthiavād. There, in 1145 V S, he was born on the full-moon night of the month of Kārttika, that is, in November-December, 1038 or 1039 A D.<sup>10</sup> His parents, Cāciga and Pāhni, belonged to the merchant (*Vāṇī*) caste, in particular to that sub-caste which is known as Śrīmodh Vāṇīs,<sup>11</sup> so called because this sub-caste originally came from Modherā. Both the parents adhered to the doctrine of Jina. Pāhni distinguished herself through her special zeal for the faith and was moved by her piety to hand over her son whose worldly name was Cāṅgadeva or Cāṅgadeva,<sup>12</sup> to a monk named Devacandra as a pupil while still in his early childhood, and thus dedicated him to the spiritual order. The detailed circumstances which led Cāṅgadeva enter the order of the Yatis, are variously described and all the stories are more or less romantically adorned. The *Prabhāvalacaritra* gives only a short account. Pāhni, so it says, once dreamed that she had presented the *Cintāmani* (the stone that fulfils all wishes) to her spiritual adviser. She related her dream to the monk Devacandra who gave her an explanation that she would bear a son who "would resemble the Kaustubha-jewel of the ocean of the Jaina-doctrine." When Cāṅgadeva was five years old, he accompanied his mother to the temple and sat on the seating-cushion of Devacandra while she was performing her worship. The monk reminded her of the dream and bade her entrust the boy to him as his pupil. Pāhni referred him first to the child's father. As Devacandra kept silence over this, she fulfilled his wish, though unwillingly, "because she remembered the dream and because the word of the Teacher must not be disregarded." Thereupon, Devacandra took the boy with him to Stambhatīrtha, the present-day Cambay. There he was first consecrated in the temple of Pārśvanātha on Saturday, the fourteenth day of the bright half of the month Māgha of the Vikrama-year 1150. On this occasion, the 'famous' Udayana held the usual festival. Cāṅgadeva received the name Somacandra.<sup>13</sup>

Merutunga is much more extensive. He differs in some not unessential points from the *Prabhāvakacaritra* and presents quite a complete little romance. According to him, Devacandra came to Dhandhukā on his journey from Pattana or Anhilvād and went into the Temple connected with a monastery of Śrīmodh merchants, in order to pay his homage to the image of Jina there. Cāṅgadeva, about eight years old, who roamed here and there playing with other companions of the same age, came there and sat down on Devacandra's resting-cushion which lay on the "throne" of the ordinary pulpit of the Jaina-monasteries. He thereby attracted the attention of the monk who on closer observation, found the boy to be endowed with signs of a high destiny. Wishing to get him as his pupil, the monk gathered together the congregation, i. e. the most esteemed Jaina merchants of the city, and went with them to the house of Cāciga. The father was absent from the house, but his wife Pāhīnī received the monk and his companions in a fitting manner. Devacandra told her that the congregation had come there in order to beg from her, her son. Although moved to tears by the honour so done to her, Pāhīnī at first declared herself unable to respond to the request, as her husband was of "heretical" mind and was, moreover, absent. At last the pressure of her relatives prevailed upon her and she handed the boy over to the Guru on then responsibility. Also Cāṅgadeva, who was consulted according to the rules, consented to become a pupil of the monk. Thereupon Devacandra immediately resumed his wandering with Cāṅgadeva and went to Karnāvati where he took the boy to the house of a royal minister, named Udayana. Without doubt he was afraid that his pupil might be taken back from him. He sought therefore to secure the shelter of an influential member of the Jaina congregation. Subsequent events showed that he was not in the wrong, for there soon appeared Cāciga who, after he returned from his journey, at once hurried to Karnāvati in order to take Cāṅgadeva back. The father had taken a vow not to take any food until he had seen his son. Having arrived there, he went to the dwelling place of the monk, so furious that he showed the latter scant reverence and would not be soothed. It was only when Udayana was approached and he intervened, that the father was reconciled. Udayana took him to his house, treated him with honour as an elder brother and entertained him hospitably. Then he sent for Cāṅgadeva, placed him in the lap of his father whom he offered a large sum of money besides other gifts of honour. Cāciga proudly declined the presents, but was so moved by the honour done to him by his host that he consented to let him have his son. On further persuasion by Udayana, he also allowed him to transfer his rights to Devacandra and finally performed the rite of world-renunciation for Cāṅgadeva.<sup>14</sup>

A third version which agrees neither with the *Prabhāvakacaritra* nor with Merutunga, is given by Rājasekhara. According to this, Devacandra often went to Dhandhukā on his journeys and preached there. One day, Nemināga, one of the believers among the gathering stood up and said that Cāṅgadeva, the son of his sister Pāhīnī and of Thakkura Cāciga, had received spiritual awakening through the sermon and was begging to be ordained as a monk. Before his birth (he further said) his mother had seen in a dream a mango-tree which, when transplanted to another spot, had borne rich fruits. Thereupon Devacandra declared that the petitioner would, if he entered the spiritual order, perform great deeds he was endowed with lucky marks and was worthy to be

ordained, but the consent of his parents must be obtained. When Cāṅgadeva's wish was put before his parents, they first of all opposed, but finally gave their consent to it.<sup>12</sup>

Lastly, the author of the *Kumārāpālacarita* gives both the first and the second stories with some embellishments and weaves them together in his own way, without troubling himself about the contradictions. Thus he declares thrice that Cāṅgadeva was born in the year 1145 of the Vikrama-era, but he twice gives as the date of his ordination the year 1150, i. e. the fifth year of his life, in agreement with the *Prabhāvākacaritra*, and once gives the date Vikrama Samvat 1154, i. e. the ninth year of his life, in accordance with Merutunga. According to his assumption, Cāṅgadeva received the name Somadeva after his ordination. He adds that the form Somacandra is used "by some".<sup>13</sup>

Evidently the story of the *Kumārāpālacarita* deserves no consideration. Also the account of Rājasekhara is not trustworthy, for he betrays his desire to prove that Hemacandra entered the holy order in strictest accordance with the doctrine of the sacred scriptures of the Jainas. According to these doctrines, only he is worthy to become a monk who, enlightened through the sermon and through his own meditation, is convinced of the futility of the world and feels the intense longing for eternal salvation, the *Mukti*. In reality, the facts work somewhat differently. If the order of the Yatis were allowed to recruit members only from the volunteers who desired to renounce the world, then it would be in a bad position and the Jaina-congregation would be short of preachers. The provision of the necessary recruits is generally secured by the rich members of the congregation buying up boys, still in their tenderest age, from their parents and entrusting them to the Yatis for instruction. Illegitimate children of Brahmin widows are given special preference as they can be cheaply bought and may be supposed to have spiritual aptitude, for often the fathers of such children belong to the most cultured castes of India. In this matter not seldom does it happen that children of poor Brahmins or Vāṇiās are bought especially in times of high cost of living. In some isolated cases the Yatis themselves are active and make sure of successors by adopting forsaken orphans or by begging from their co-religionists children to whom they take fancy.<sup>14</sup> These conditions of the present day clearly show that Rājasekhara's account is an invention, especially because the contradictory statements of the *Prabhāvākacaritra* and of Merutunga agree with the first-named. It is for the same reason that one must declare as perfectly trustworthy the statement that Devacandra obtained Cāṅgadeva by begging him from his mother. It is in every way probable that a monk who was attracted by an intelligent boy, 'endowed with lucky marks', sought to get him as a pupil and gained his purpose by cleverly exploiting the piety and the weakness of the mother. The story of the dream and of its interpretation before the birth of the boy as found in the *Prabhāvākacaritra* is, of course, to be rejected as an outcome of the belief, so often repeated by the Jainas, that the birth of great men is predicted to mothers by dreams.

In the same way, little value can be attached to the assertion in both the oldest sources, that Cāṅgadeva sat on the cushion of the monk. On the other hand, it is probably correct that Cāṅga opposed and attempted to bring his son back, as related by Merutunga. If he was, as Merutunga says, "of heretical mind", that is, though belonging to the Jaina congregation, he still adhered to the old views, then one can easily understand his opposition against his son's entering the Yati's order. He was probably possessed by

the belief of the orthodox Indian who expects eternal happiness in heaven by the regular performance of sacrifices offered to the *manes* by his male successor and who, therefore, regards as the greatest ill-luck the untimely entrance of the latter into the holy order. Little as these viewpoints agree with Jainism, they are not seldom found among the Jain laymen who, even though they do not perform sacrifices offered to the *manes*, still do share orthodox Indians' feelings for their male offspring. Similarly, there is no reason to doubt the statement that Udayana intervened between the monk and Cāciga. Udayana is certainly a historical personality. He was a Srimālī Vāṇī who emigrated into Gujarat from Śrīmāl or Bhīmāl in Mārvād. He is supposed to have settled down first of all in the city of Karnāvati, which took, according to K. Forbes, the place of modern Ahmedabad. Soon afterwards, he was appointed Mantṛin or royal counsel in Stambhātīrtha by Siddharāja-Jayasimha and probably occupied the post of a Civil Governor in that city.<sup>18</sup> He is referred to repeatedly in Hemacandra's biography. Also the short remark in the *Prabhāvākacaritra* that the famous Udayana had performed the ceremony of Cāṅgadeva's ordination in Cambay, points to the fact that Merutunga was correct in representing Udayana as Devacandra's patron. If this is so, then we have also a solution of the contradictions in both the oldest sources regarding Cāṅgadeva's age at the time of his ordination and regarding the city where it took place. As regards the first point, Merutunga, and as regards the second point, the *Prabhāvākacaritra*, is in the right. For, it is in itself improbable that Cāṅgadeva was ordained to become a monk in his fifth year, in V. S. 1150. This becomes quite unbelievable when we are told that Udayana at that time was already a royal counsel or was living in Cambay, because the king Jayasimha, in whose reign he emigrated into Gujarat, ascended the throne only in the Vikrama year 1150. Consequently Merutunga's date for the ordination,—the eighth or ninth year of his life, according to Jinamandana, the Vikrama year 1154—has decidedly an advantage. On the other hand, the place where the ceremony was performed, must be Cambay and not Karnāvati. In addition, it may be added that the *Prabhāvākacaritra* further remarks that Kumārapāla, after his conversion had a Dikṣāvihāra, i. e. a temple with a monastery, built in Cambay, in memory of Hemacandra's ordination. Merutunga agrees with this fact, despite his earlier contradictory statement.<sup>19</sup>

The sources supply us with little information regarding the next twelve years of the life of Hemacandra, or more properly Somacandra, which he spent as a student and servant of his Guru. Definite statements are to be found only in the *Prabhāvākacaritra*. There it is stated that he studied Logic and Dialectics as well as Grammar and Poetics and that he mastered these subjects at once on account of the power of his intelligence "which shone clear and pure as light". It is of course in itself clear that Somacandra learnt these branches of Brahmanical lore only as a supplement to the theology of the Jains. For, his training as a teacher and preacher of the Jain faith necessitated, naturally, above all, intimate knowledge of the Prakrit-dialect in which the Jain-*sūtras* are written, as also a thorough study of the latter, of their commentaries and of other scriptures related thereto. His later scholarly attainments show that the statement of the *Prabhāvākacaritra* as to his capacities is right and that he must indeed have possessed more than ordinary power of intellect. There is no mention as to whether Devacandra alone instructed him or whether he had other teachers as well. The first assumption is,

however, not improbable, as Devacandra appears to have been a man of no insignificance. Devacandra is of course not mentioned in the lists of teachers. On the other hand, Rājasekhara assumes that he belonged to the Pūrṇacandra Gaccha and to the line of Yaśobhadra, the Rāṇā of Vatapadra, who was converted by Dattasūri, and that Yaśobhadra's pupil was Pradyumnasūri, the author of many works and his pupil Guṇasena was Devacandra's teacher. He adds, moreover, that Devacandra wrote a commentary to Ṭhāna, i. e. the Sthānāṅga, as also a life of Śāntinātha. The latter statements may be correct. For, Devasūri mentions in the Introduction to his *Śāntināthacaritra* that it is translated from the great homonymous Prakrit-poem of Devacandra, the teacher of Hemacandra. Rājasekhara's account of Devacandra's school and teacher appears, on the other hand, to be partly incorrect. It is true that Jinamandana says exactly the same that Dattasūri of the Kotikagana, the Vajra Śākhā and of the Candra Gaccha, had converted the Rāṇā Yaśobhadra, and he gives the same line of teachers Pradyumnasūri, Guṇasena, Devacandra. But the *Prabhāvakacaritra* (See Note 13, verse 14) calls the latter a pupil of Pradyumnasūri and Hemacandra himself says in the *Mahāvīracarita* that he belonged to the Vajrasākhā and to the line of Muncandra.<sup>20</sup> In none of his works, known so far, does Hemacandra give the name of his teacher, although ample opportunity should have been offered for the same. It almost appears as if his later relationship with his teacher might not have been of friendly nature. In this respect, an anecdote given by Merutunga could be cited. Devacandra refused to teach his pupil the art of making gold because he had already "ill-digested" other easier sciences and hence was neither worthy nor capable of learning so difficult an art.<sup>21</sup> Whatever be the solution of these difficulties, this much is certain that Devacandra was a learned man who had the qualification to train a pupil like Hemacandra.

In the last years of Somacandra's apprenticeship, the *Prabhāvakacaritra* ascribes a journey, or rather the plan for a journey, by which the young monk wanted to win the favour of the goddess Brāhmī, the patroness of learning, in order to overcome all rivals by her grace. With the permission of his teacher he set out on a tour towards the land of Brāhmī via Tāmāḥptī in company of other Sādhus well-versed in the *Sāstras*. He went, however, only upto Raivatāvatāra, the sanctuary of Neminātha, where he devoted himself to ascetic practices in Mādhumata Sārtha (?). During the practices, the goddess of speech appeared before him and informed him that he would attain his desire at home. He therefore cancelled his further programme and returned to his teacher.<sup>22</sup> Although in India it be not unusual that a scholar or a poet seeks to attain the *Sārasvata mantra*, a magic formula, which gives him mastery over speech, and although Hemacandra himself admits unreservedly of his faith in such means in his manual of Poetics, the *Alamkāracūdāmanī*,<sup>23</sup> yet one must interpret the above story only as an explicative myth. Indeed, the extra-ordinarily naive geographic conceptions of the author point to this. When he says that Somacandra wanted to travel via Tāmāḥptī or Tamluk in Bengal in order to reach Brāhmīdeśa, i. e. Kāśmīr, it is clear that he is confounding the Brāhmīdeśa with the Brahmadeśa or Burma. Still more absurd is it that Somacandra is supposed to have gone on his journey first to Raivatāvatāra i. e. Junāgaḍh in Kāthiāwāḍ. Later on, Jinamandana detected this absurdity and tried to make the story more credible by an alteration (See Note 22).

According to all the sources, Somacandra's term of apprenticeship came to a close in Vikrama Samvat 1166 as he was then ordained as a Sūri or Ācārya, i. e. an independent exponent of the holy scriptures and a successor of his teacher. On this occasion he again changed his name according to the custom of Jaina-ascetics, and was now called Hemacandra. The *Prabhāvakacarita* suggests that Devacandra was an old man by this time and soon afterwards took to those chastisements which lead the conscientious Jaina to Nirvāṇa. Except in the above-mentioned story of Merutunga, he is no more referred to in the *Prabandhas*. The *Prabhāvakacarita* adds further that Pāhīnī, when her son received the second ordination, took "cāritra", that is to say, she entered the Jaina nunnery. According to a further statement of Merutunga's, she lived for a considerable time after this and died just about V. S. 1211.



## CHAPTER III

### Hemacandra and Jayasimha-Siddharāja

The sources speak nothing about Hemacandra's life during the time which immediately followed his ordination as a Sūri. They jump over a long series of years and resume only with his migration to Anahillapātaka or Pattana, the modern Anhilvād-Pātan, the Capital of Gujarat, where he lived, as the *Prabandhas* expressly and apologetically state, the great part of his life. There, by royal favour, an honourable career as author and promoter of his faith lay open to the Sūri. His first patron was the Caulukya king Jayasimha, designated Siddharāja, who had ascended the throne in the year 1150 of the Vikrama era and who ruled over Gujarat and the adjoining provinces of the western India until the Vikrama year 1199. According to all documents, Jayasimha was one of the most energetic and ambitious kings of the Caulukya-dynasty. He extended his kingdom as well towards the east as towards the west. Amongst his successful, warlike undertakings, special mention is frequently made in the *Prabandhas*, as well as in inscriptions, of his conquest of Surāstrā or Sorath in the south of Kāthiāvād and of the occupation of Ujjain, which resulted in the arrest of the king Yasovarman and the annexation, at least for the time being, of the western Mālvā. He is equally famous for his public buildings and the construction of huge lakes in Pātan, Siddhapur, Kapadvanj, Viramgām and other cities. These lakes are still partly preserved. According to the *Prabandhas*, he was a friend of *belles-lettres* and entertained an earnest desire of seeing his achievements immortalised by a great poet. He therefore patronised the bards and poets and kept a poet laureate, Kavis'vara S'rīpāla who, though an author of various poetic works, does not seem to have been really able to tackle satisfactorily the task entrusted to him by his patron. The same sources speak also about Jayasimha's pursuit of philosophy. Although he was a Śivāite like his forefathers and, according to some stories, rigidly maintained the privileges of the Brahmanical faith, it is however reported that he, being eager to obtain complete deliverance from the fetters of rebirth, summoned from all countries teachers of various sects whom he questioned on Truth and God and the Holy Law, and had them discuss these points in his presence. Hemacandra confirms these statements in the *Prasasti* to his Grammar (Note 33, verse 18, 22), where he speaks of Jayasimha's ascetic propensities, and in the *Dvayā'rayakārya*, in which mention is made of the establishment of schools where Dialectics, Astronomy and the Purāṇas were taught (see Note 28).

It is easily comprehensible that even a Jaina monk who had a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit-literature and the Brahmanical sciences as well as proficiency in the poetic art, could win the favour of a king of this kind. The sources are not, however, at one as to the art and manner in which Hemacandra came to be introduced to Jayasimha. According to the *Prabhāvalacaritra*, by an accidental meeting he became acquainted with the king and by a clever exploitation of the opportunity thus offered, he got entry into the palace. Once, so it is said, Siddharāja passed through the streets of his capital riding on an elephant and saw Hemacandra standing by a shop near a slope. The king stopped his elephant just by the mound (*tumbaka*) and called out to the monk "Recite something!" Hemacandra at once replied with a stanza composed on the spur of the moment: "Siddha, let the stately elephant jump freely without any hesitation! May the world-protecting elephants tremble! What's the good of all of them? By thee alone is the world guarded!" Jayasimha was pleased with this stanza so much that he invited the author to go to the palace daily at noon and to entertain him. Hemacandra accepted the invitation and gradually won the king's friendship. Jinamandana agrees with this story in the main. It appears, however, that he drew his material from some other source. For, the verse which he attributes to Hemacandra, has a different form and he attempts to ascribe the reason of the king's addressing Hemacandra to the astonishing appearance of the latter and to the king's amazement at the same.<sup>24</sup> Meitunga mentions nothing of this meeting and its results. According to his report, Hemacandra became known to Jayasimha much later, just when he was returning from the victorious expedition against Mālvā. On this occasion Jayasimha held, on entering the capital, a ceremonious procession in which Yaśovarman, the captive king of Mālvā, and the rich spoils gathered in the war were triumphantly exhibited. The heads of various fellowships of faiths appeared among the deputations from Anhilvād, in accordance with the Indian custom, to shower their benedictions on the victorious king. Among the group of the Jainas was also Hemacandra who had been selected as a spokesman on account of his great learning. He paid homage to the king with these words "Wish-fulfilling cow, besprinkle the earth with thy fluid! Ye, Oceans, scatter the *svastika*-figures of pearls! Moon, become thou a full bowl! Ye elephants-protectors of quarters of the globe, bring boughs of the heavenly tree, and unplat victory-garlands from them with your long trunks! For, does not the king Siddha, who has conquered the earth, come now?" This stanza that was "adorned with a commentary", was praised by the king and brought its author great honour.<sup>25</sup>

The *Prabhāvalacaritra* (see Note 24) and Jinamandana similarly know this story. They however surmise that Hemacandra only renewed his acquaintance with the king on his return from Mālvā and that he received a new invitation to the palace.

As regards the credibility of these statements, the second of them must certainly be historical. The stanza with which Hemacandra is supposed to have greeted the king, is authentic. For, it is found at the end of the twenty-fourth *Pāda* of Hemacandra's Grammar which, as will be later on shown, contains thirty-five verses composed by the author in honour of the Caulukya kings. The last words, "For, does not the king Siddha, who has conquered the earth, come now?" produce a good sense only if one takes that the *śloka* was composed, as the *Prabandhas* maintain, originally as an occasional poem in honour of a triumphal procession and later inserted into the Grammar. As regards the

story of the meeting in the bazar, it is not possible to be equally certain. In itself the story sounds a bold one. It is not improbable that an Indian prince, who took an interest in the art of poesy, should address a man whose outward appearance struck him, and should, as a reward for a graceful compliment, grant him access to the customary audiences of scholars and poets. It is however hard to comprehend how Jayasimha could presuppose a proficiency in poetry in a Jama-monk who was unknown to him. The matter is made more suspicious by the fact that the stanza, which Hemacandra is supposed to have composed on this occasion, should be given in two different versions and that none of them should exist in the authentic works of Hemacandra. Finally, it is noteworthy that the *Prabhāvakacaritra* should have nothing to report particularly about Hemacandra's intercourse with Jayasimha during the period between the first and the second meeting. Only Jinamandana relates a number of anecdotes regarding this intercourse. Even these anecdotes, according to other sources<sup>20</sup>, fall into a later time. Under such circumstances the credibility of the first story is doubtful. In spite of this, there are some reasons which make it probable that Hemacandra was introduced to the court of Jayasimha before the conquest of Mālvā. The expedition against Mālvā, the date of which is not, with exactitude, given in any of the sources, must have taken place after the Vikrama year 1192, as, it is known, in the month of Māgha of that year Prince Yaśovarman who was conquered and taken prisoner by Jayasimha, made a grant of land, which proves that he still occupied the throne<sup>21</sup>. Probably this expedition was undertaken soon after this date. For, Jayasimha himself died in the Vikrama year 1199, and it is evident from his biography in Hemacandra's *Dvyaśrayakāvya* that he reigned for many years after his return from Mālvā. Now, if Hemacandra became first acquainted with Jayasimha at the time of the latter's imposing triumphal entry, then it could not have happened before the Vikrama Samvat 1194, in which case he could have had influence at the court of the king for about five years only. But that this influence lasted much longer than five years is clear from Merutunga's account of the famous debate held by the Śvetāmbara Devasūri and the Digambara Kumudcandra in the presence of Jayasimha. He describes<sup>22</sup> that, on this occasion the 'young' (विद्युत्किन्तदेशव) Hemacandra was present as a supporter of Devasūri and that he succeeded in winning the favour of the king's mother Mayanalladevi for his side. The *Prabhāvakacaritra*, XXI, 195 gives as the exact date of the debate the full-moon day of the month Vaiśākha, Vikrama Samvat 1181,<sup>23</sup> while Merutunga allows the same to take place towards the end of Jayasimha's reign after the expedition against Mālvā. There can be no doubt that the statement of the *Prabhāvakacaritra* deserves preference and that Merutunga took the liberty of a fanciful shifting of the date. The last-named fact is especially proved by the remark that Hemacandra was a young man at that time. Had the debate taken place towards the end of the ninetieth year, then Hemacandra should have been over fifty years of age. Under these circumstances, it cannot be denied that, even according to the sources which Merutunga used, the first acquaintance of Hemacandra with Jayasimha took place before the time of the war with Mālvā. This does not, however, prove that the story of the *Prabhāvakacaritra*, about the first meeting of the both, tells the truth. Its internal improbability remains just as great as before. The story might well have been invented as a historical setting to the famous verses of Hemacandra addressed to the king after the real facts leading to the former's introduction into the court of his lord had been forgotten. The facts may be sought in

Jayasimha's endeavours to learn the tenets of various sects. Possibly Hemacandra might have also been helped by his connection with Udayana who had great influence. It will also be later on seen that even Udayana's sons stood in very intimate relationship to Hemacandra. This help was quite natural and to be expected because Udayana had taken the boy Cāṅgadeva under his care. Hemacandra's former acquaintance with Jayasimha was probably not very intimate, for, the oldest source, as we have already noted, has nothing to say about it, while the stories of Jinamaṇḍana deserve no credence.

On the other hand, by reason of his benedictions at the king's procession, Hemacandra appears to have won a lasting influence. He became, first of all, Court-Pandit and then Court-Annalist. In the first position, he was entrusted by Jayasimha with the preparation of a new grammar. In the *Prabhāvakacaritra*, further circumstances which induced the king to take this step, have been described as follows. Sometime after his triumphal entrance into the city, the manuscripts captured in Ujjain were exhibited to Jayasimha himself and the scholars of his court. He was attracted by one treatise on grammar that was among them. He questioned what that work was and in reply he was told that it was a work on etymology, compiled by the Paramāra king Bhoja, and the extensive literary activity of that poly-historian who had written works on all branches of learning, was highly praised. The praise kindled Jayasimha's jealousy and he expressed his regret that his treasury had no such series of manuals written in his kingdom. Thereupon all the scholars assembled there turned their faces towards Hemacandra, suggesting thereby that they considered him worthy of becoming the Bhoja of Gujarat. The king espoused their opinion and requested Hemacandra to prepare a new grammar, as the then available grammars, being too short or too difficult and antiquated, did not serve their purpose. Hemacandra expressed his willingness to accede to his lord's wish, he begged however for his help in securing the necessary materials, such as the eight older grammars which were to be found in their entirety only in the library of the Temple of Sarasvatī in Kāśhmīr. Jayasimha at once sent high officials to Pravarapura to fetch the MSS. The officials put up in the temple of the deity and laid their petition. Pleased with their songs of praise, there appeared Sarasvatī to them and ordered the librarian to send the desired works to her favourite Hemacandra. Her command was carried out and the scholar Utsāha returned to Anbhīrād with the books. The ambassadors, on their return, described to the king how highly his *protégé* stood in favour of the goddess. The king considered his land fortunate in having such a man. Hemacandra looked through the MSS. brought to him and compiled his grammar in eight *Adhyāyas* and thirty-two *Pādas*, and in homage to the king he entitled it *Siddhahemacandra*, "compiled by Hemacandra and dedicated to Siddharāja." As the custom required, the work consisted of five parts, the Aphorisms, the Indexes of the Words formed with *unādi* suffixes, a Root-lexicon, a Treatise on the Rules of Gender, and a Running Commentary. Hemacandra furthermore added two more lexica, the *Nāma-mālā* and the *Anelāṅ-thakosa*. In order to characterise the Grammar as a court-work, the author adorned it with a *prasasti*, a poem of praise, in 35 stanzas in honour of the Caulukya dynasty from Mularāja down to Jayasimha. One stanza at the end of every *pāda* and four stanzas at the end of the whole work were given. On its completion, the grammar was read before the court and was accepted by the scholars as a model work because of its clarity and precision. The king then summoned

three hundred copyists to Anhilvād, who had to make copies during three years. Then he presented one copy to each of the heads of all the sects in his kingdom and dispatched other copies all over India, nay, even beyond the borders of India, into Persia, Ceylon and Nepal. Twenty copies were also sent to Kāśmīr which the goddess Sarasvatī accepted for the library of her Temple. In order to further still more the study of this work, Kāyastha Kākala, a well-known grammarian, was invited to teach it in Anhilvād. Every month a public examination of his pupils was held on the Jñānapāñcamī. Whoever did his task well, received from the king a shawl, a golden ornament, a sedan-chair or a sunshade.

Merutunga's account which Jinamandana copies almost *verbatim* is much shorter and runs quite differently. When the king praised Hemacandra's stanza composed in honour of his triumphal entrance, it is said in the *Prabandhacintāmani*,<sup>22</sup> some jealous Brahmins remarked "The monk has drawn his wisdom purely from our books." The king thereupon asked Hemacandra if it was so. The latter replied "We study the Jain-grammar which Mahāvīra in his childhood explained to Indra." The envious Brahmins rejoined that it was a story of hoary antiquity, and that Hemacandra might name a more modern grammarian of his faith. Then the monk offered himself to write a new grammar *in a few days* if only His Highness Siddharāja helped him. The king consented and dismissed the scholars. After the celebrations of the triumphal entrance were over, the king was reminded of the story of the grammar and he ordered to collect, as promised, MSS of all the existing grammars from many lands and also summoned scholars who were conversant with various systems. Hemacandra then wrote *in one year* the *Siddhahemacandra* in five parts which contained 125,000 couplets, each of 32 syllables. When the book was ready, it was brought to the palace in right royal honour on the state-elephant and was deposited there in the treasury. From that time onwards, all other grammars were ignored and the *Siddhahemacandra* alone was studied evcrywhere. This disappointed the rivals of Hemacandra and one of them secretly sneaked to the king that the grammar did not contain, as it should have contained, a poem of praise in honour of the Caulukya dynasty. Hemacandra got scent of that scandal and learned that the king was angry with him for that oversight. Thereupon he composed at once thirty-two stanzas in honour of the Caulukyās and recited them the next morning when his grammar was being read in the palace. The king was thereby reconciled and ordered that the knowledge of the Grammar be further spread.

It can be seen at the first glance that neither of the two stories possesses a claim to credibility in all its details. As Hemacandra's grammar is, however, preserved in its completeness and as recently many later works bearing on the same have become known, it is possible to examine critically the statements of tradition and to note that a great part of them, especially of those in the *Prabhāvakacaritā*, is quite correct. To this category belong, first of all, the date of the last-named work as to the extent, the arrangement and character of the Grammar, as well as the cause that led to its compilation. The *Siddhahemacandra* contains, it is true, eight *Adhyāyas* and thirty-two *Pādas* and at the end of the commentary on each *Pāda* comes one stanza in honour of one of the first seven Caulukya kings while at the end of the whole there are four stanzas.<sup>23</sup> The *Siddha-*

*hemacandra* is said to be a work in five parts also in MSS. and there are, besides the Sūtras, still separate sections about the *unādi*-suffixes, the *gaṇas*, the roots and the gender of nouns. Besides this, the author has provided all the parts of his book with a commentary in two recensions,<sup>94</sup> whose compilation falls, as some allusions to the victory of Jayasimha, and the *Pras'astis* show, in the time of the reign of Siddharāja. Moreover, it is not only dedicated, as the title indicates, to the king Jayasimha-Siddharāja, but it also owes its origin to the request or command of the king. Quite similarly to the *Prabhāvalacaritā*, it is said in the *Pras'asti*, stanza 35, that Siddharāja being dissatisfied with the older grammars, requested the monk Hemacandra to write a new one and that the monk thereupon wrote it "according to the rules". Of the further statement of the *Prabhāvalacaritā* that the inspection of the MSS., secured in Mālvā, was the immediate cause of the king's command, there is in fact no corroboration in other works. And yet this statement, considered on its own merits, is by no means improbable. For, when Jayasimha cherished the anxious desire, as already mentioned, to immortalise the memory of his reign through literary works, it was then only natural that the perusal of Bhoja's works aroused his jealousy and induced him to call upon the best scholar in his empire to write similar works. The *Siddhahemacandra* is then a compilation from earlier grammars as opined by the tradition. It is based specially on the grammar of Śākatāyana and on the *Kūlantra*, as Kielhorn has shown. In his commentary on the work, Hemacandra cites very often the views of "others", of "certain persons", et cetera; and with the help of glossaries—unfortunately incomplete ones—to the Commentary, Kielhorn has discovered that for the first five *Pāṭhas*, not less than 15 different grammatical works had been used.<sup>95</sup> For the whole work, the number is no doubt appreciably greater. From this, it appears quite credible that Hemacandra had collected materials from various places before he began his work, as also that his patron had been helpful in his task. Even at present the Indian princes provide their court-pandits almost regularly with MSS. and often manage to get them from afar at great cost. When, however, the *Prabhāvalacaritā* opines on this point that all the MSS. came from the library of the temple of Sarasvatī in Kāśmīr, it must be an exaggeration, originating in the author's too high a regard for the literary greatness of the land of Śāradā. Merutunga's statement that the king managed to gather grammars from various lands, is more probable. Finally, one cannot declare as untrustworthy the statement made in both the sources that Jayasimha accelerated the circulation of the new *Vyākaraṇa*, distributed the copies of the same and appointed a teacher in order to teach it to others. If the pains taken by the king Ānandapāla with a view to circulating the *Sisyaśūti* written by his teacher Ugrabhūti, as described by Berrini, are without doubt historical,<sup>96</sup> then similar statements about the works written at the command of the princes deserve full consideration. In the case of the *Siddhahemacandra*, it is to be further added that the grammarian Kakkala—as the exponent of this grammar is called in the *Prabhāvalacaritā*—is not only a historical personality, but really did make himself useful in expounding the work. One opinion of Kakkala is mentioned in the *Nyāsa* on the commentary of Hemacandra, used by Kielhorn. Moreover, Guṇacandra, a pupil of Devasūri, praises a great dialectician, poet and grammarian, by name Kakkalla who was a sort of a professor, and says that it was at the command of Kakkalla that he wrote the *Tattvaparakāśikā* or *Hamantabhrama*—an essay to interpret the *Siddhahemacandra*.<sup>97</sup> Kākala, Kakkala and Kakkalla are the three Prakrit-forms produced partly through

difference of accentuation, and all of them are diminutives of the Sanskrit name *Karṇa*. They designate without doubt one and the same person. Devasūri, the spiritual teacher of Guṇacandra is probably the famous Jaina-bishop, already mentioned, who in V. S. 1181 held a debate with Kumudacandra and died in V. S. 1226. If one agrees to this, then the statements of Guṇacandra seem to confirm those in the *Prabhāvakacaritra*. On another point, namely, the mention of the period at which Hemacandra completed his work, the statements of the *Prabandhas* are to be rectified. The *Prabhāvakacaritra* does not, it is true, say anything in detail about this but suggests that the Grammar was composed within a short space of time. Merutunga, on the other hand, opines boldly that it was written in one single year. This is simply an impossibility and, moreover, is contradicted by a remark in stanza 23 of the *Prasasti*. There Hemacandra mentions that Jayasimha has celebrated a festival of pilgrimage (यात्रानंद कृत १). The *Dvyāśrayakāvya* speaks only of a single pilgrimage of the king to Devapattana and Gīrnār, which seems to have taken place in the last year of his rule (See Note 28). The *Prasasti* must, therefore, have been written after this pilgrimage and, as it must only have been written after the completion of the Grammar, the latter (the Grammar) also should have been finished after this time. Between the return from Mālvā and the end of the pilgrimage, two or three years might have passed according to the statements of the *Dvyāśraya*. As the former falls, according to the above arguments, in the Vikrama year 1194, then the Grammar must have been ready, at the earliest, towards the end of the Vikrama-year 1197.

The success of his Grammar appears to have induced Hemacandra to extend further the scope of his work and to write a number of handbooks which should give the students of Sanskrit composition—and more particularly of the poetics—complete guidance to correct and eloquent expression. This endeavour led to the compilation of a number of Sanskrit-lexica and textbooks of rhetoric and metrics, as well as of a formal artistic poem meant for illustrating the grammatical rules. This poem is *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* which contains the history of the Caulukya princes. The series of these works opened with a homonymic lexicon, the *Abhūdhanacūtāmanī* or *Nāmanāmālu*, by name. Then followed the synonymic lexicon, the *Anekārthasamgraha* thereafter the manual of poetics, the *Alamkāracūdāmanī*, and lastly the *Chandonusāsana*, the Metrics. This order is chiefly fixed by the statements given in the above-named works<sup>28</sup>. With reference to the first two, the *Prabhāvakacaritra* (Note 31, verse 98) says that they were completed simultaneously with the Grammar. There is little possibility in this, as the composition of the Grammar, its appendices and commentaries would have been quite sufficient work for that short period, even if Hemacandra, as is very usual in India, took the help of his pupils while compiling the commentaries and even if he had made preparations for his work earlier. The Grammar does not, it is true, contain 125,000 *ślokas*, as Merutunga would have us believe. But including the commentaries and the appendices which, in their turn, have commentaries, it has something like 20,000 to 30,000 *ślokas*. It might, however, be right that both of the *Kosas* were completed before Jayasimha's death. That none of them contains a dedication or other usual characteristic to prove that the work was written at the king's command, is no obstacle here. Hemacandra seems to have

regarded them, as is also suggested by their not being mentioned in the *Alamkāracūdāmanī* (see Note 38), as supplements to the Grammar, and on this account he might have considered any mention of his patron as superfluous. According to a short note<sup>40</sup> which Merutunga gives at the end of the story of the Grammar, the *Devās'rayamahākāvya* also belongs to this period. It is said to have been written immediately after the Grammar, in order to celebrate Siddharāja's conquest of the world. This cannot, however, be absolutely correct. For, the last five cantos of the poem, *Sargas* XVI-XX, describe a great part of the career of the king Kumārapāla who was Jayasimha's successor. The end indicates that Kumārapāla was still living and stood at the zenith of his power. In its form, as extant, it cannot have been completed before V S 1220. Now because Hemacandra had also undertaken to revise one other work towards the end of his life, as will be later on shown, it is quite possible that the *Devās'rayakāvya* was undertaken at the wish of Jayasimha and perhaps was finished upto the narration of the deeds of the king, that is, upto the fourteenth *Sarga*. In support of this, one can also add that the author of the *Ratnamālā* says,<sup>40</sup> Jayasimha had the annals of his dynasty prepared under his order, and that nothing is known about any other comprehensive chronicle of the Caulukyās excepting Hemacandra's work. While there is still some probability of the two *kośas* and the *Kāvya* having been written wholly or partly during the period of Jayasimha's reign, the same is not the case about the *Alamkāracūdāmanī* and the *Chandanas'āsana*. These were probably written in the beginning of the rule of Kumārapāla. The reasons for this hypothesis are given below.

Many more anecdotes are described in the *Prabandhas* about Jayasimha's intercourse with Hemacandra after the compilation of the Grammar. The greater number of them deserves no serious attention because of their very character and those few which, at first, appear as if they were historical, prove to be, on closer scrutiny, of doubtful worth. The first story which the *Prabhāvakacarita* describes, tells us that Rāmacandra, a prominent pupil of Hemacandra's, lost his right eye, because Jayasimha—to whom he had been introduced by his teacher—exhorted him to have only *one eye* on the Jaina doctrine (*ekadr̥ṣṭir bhava*). Merutunga, on the other hand, has another explanation for the probably historical fact that Rāmacandra was a one-eyed man. According to his statement, this defect was the result of an ill-considered stricture which Rāmacandra, despite the warning of his teacher, passed on Śīpāla's praise-poem on the Sahasralinga lake.<sup>41</sup> The second story of the *Prabhāvakacarita* describes how cleverly Hemacandra contrived to help himself out of adverse situations, and to silence the envious Brahmins. Once, so runs the story, a Brahmin who had listened to the exposition of Nemicarita in the Caturmukha temple of the Jainas, complained to Jayasimha that the heretics themselves did not even respect the venerable traditions of the *Mahābhārata*, and that they asserted the conversion of the Pāndavas to Jainism. He added the request thereto that the king might check such a travesty of truth. However, before pronouncing any opinion on the matter, Jayasimha wanted to hear what the other party had to say and sent for Hemacandra as he was, in Jayasimha's opinion, the most learned and truth-loving Jaina. On being questioned whether the complaints of the Brahmin had in them any truth or not, Hemacandra admitted that the sacred scriptures of the Jainas did contain



the said doctrine. But he advanced an excuse for the same by saying that it referred to a verse in the Mahābhārata where mention was made of hundred Bhīsmas, three hundred Pāṇḍavas, thousand Dronas and numberless Karnas. Then he added that it might be quite possible that some of these many Pāṇḍavas were converted to the Jaina faith. Moreover, their statues could be seen in Śatruñjaya, Nasik and Kedāra. As the Brahmin did not know how to reply to such an argument, the king refused to take any proceedings against the Jainas.<sup>43</sup>

The three other *Prabandhas* make no mention of this story. The same, however, appears in another version in the *Kathākosā*. On the other hand, we find in Merutunga, in a somewhat divergent form, a repetition of the third story of the *Prabhāvakacaritra* about the snubbing of the Puṇhita Āmiga by Hemacandra. Āmiga censured that the Jaina ascetics received women into their monasteries and that they enjoyed too good meals. Such practices, he thought, easily led to violations of the vow of chastity. Thereupon Hemacandra silenced him with a simile that the moderation of the flesh-eating lion stands opposite to the erotic tendencies of the dove that lives on only feeble grains, and that proves the insignificance of the type of diet. Merutunga maintains that the incident took place during Kumārapāla's reign<sup>43</sup> and it is probable that Āmiga served the latter. The fourth story in the *Prabhāvakacaritra* deals with the Bhāgavata-ascetic Devabodha who played a great rôle for some time in Anhilvād and who behaved very arrogantly towards the king and the court-poet Śiṣpālī, despite the fact that he was generously patronised by the king. Later on, he was suspected of holding drinking-bouts against the rules of his order. Although he managed to prevent any proof being found of his guilt, he was thenceforward neglected and driven to poverty. At last, he went to Hemacandra and composed a verse in his honour. Hemacandra had pity on him and obtained a lac for him from the king. With that money he paid his debts. Then he went to the bank of the Gangā and awaited his deliverance. This anecdote, too, is mentioned nowhere else. On the contrary, Devabodha is mentioned as an opponent of Hemacandra in Jinamandana's account of Kumārapāla's conversion, and it appears as if Rājasekhara (see Note 5) alluded to the latter story.<sup>44</sup>

The fifth and last story of the *Prabhāvakacaritra* deals with Hemacandra's experiences of the pilgrimage which has been already referred to and which Jayasimha made towards the end of his reign to Somanātha or Devapattana, the present-day Verāval in Sorath. Jayasimha was, so it is said, greatly perturbed because of his having no issue at all. He undertook therefore a pilgrimage on which Hemacandra accompanied him. First of all, they visited Śatruñjaya where Jayasimha paid his homage to the first Tirthamkara and presented twelve villages to the shrine. From Śatruñjaya he proceeded towards Samkali near Gīrnār and viewed therefrom the temple of Neminātha, which his officer Sajjana had ordered to be built out of the revenues of the province Saurāṣṭra, without being authorised to do so. In order to secure the merit of having built the Temple for himself, Jayasimha freed the Governor from the repayment of the sum used, amounting to 27 lacs. Then he climbed the mountain Gīrnār and worshipped the Jina. Then he proceeded with Hemacandra to Someśvarapattana and paid homage to Śiva

whom Hemacandra also praised as the Paramātman. The last station on the journey was Kotinagara, the modern Kodināra in Sorath, where the temple of Ambikā existed. Jayasimha prayed to the Goddess that she might grant him a son. Hemacandra joined his prayers to those of the king and fasted for three days. Then there appeared Ambikā to him and informed him that Jayasimha would get no progeny but would have to leave his kingdom to Kumārapāla.<sup>45</sup>

The same story is found with some omissions and additions in Jinamāṇḍana. The visit of Gīrnār is omitted therein as well as the anecdote of Sajjana's temple and Hemacandra's worship of Śiva. On the other hand, it is said, Jayasimha went, after his visit to Kotinagara-or Kotināri according to the Prakrit form-—once again to Somanāthapattana in order to make his request to Śiva. The god appeared in person to the king, and refused to grant him a son.<sup>46</sup> Wholly different is the story, in Merutunga. He is well acquainted with the pilgrimage of Jayasimha. He, however, knows nothing about Hemacandra's taking part in it, and he therefore assumes that Hemacandra composed the verse to Śiva which is quoted in the *Prabhāvalacaritra*, while on a visit to Somanāthapattana, which visit he made much later in company with Kumārapāla. According to him the route of the march was, also, quite different. The king visited first of all Somanāthapattana. On his return, he encamped at the foot of Gīrnār, he did not however climb on the mountain, for the envious Brahmins declared to him that the mountain looked like a Linga standing in a water-tank and therefore must not be trodden by foot. From Gīrnār, so it is said by Merutunga, Jayasimha wended his way to Śātruñjaya and visited the temples there, despite the opposition of his Brahmin advisers, by night and in disguise. Merutunga also mentions the grant of twelve villages. In the same way he knows the story of Sajjana, but he does not bring it in connection with the pilgrimage.<sup>47</sup> Nor does he mention the visit to Kotinagara. Now, if one compares what Hemacandra himself has written about Jayasimha's pilgrimage in the *Dvyās'raya*, one sees that the description of the *Prabhāvalacaritra* is decidedly false, while Merutunga's account thereof also contains errors. The *Dvyās'raya* differs from the *Prabhāvalacaritra* in that it is silent on Hemacandra's participation in the pilgrimage, in that the route of the march is different, although it is the same as given by Merutunga, and in that there is no reference to a visit to Kotinagara and to the revelation of Ambikā. On the contrary, it is assumed that Śiva revealed himself to Jayasimha in Somanāthapattana and informed him of Kumārapāla's destiny. Going against Merutunga's statement, the *Dvyās'raya* affirms that Jayasimha climbed the hill Gīrnār and there worshipped the Neminātha. Lastly, he contradicts both the *Prabhāvalacaritra* and Merutunga by reporting that from Gīrnār Jayasimha did not go to Śātruñjaya but took the direct route to Simhapur or Sihor, and by saying nothing about the alleged grant of land to the shrine of the first Jina. As Hemacandra quite carefully takes note in the *Dvyās'raya* of all other favours granted to his own faith, his silence in this case is very significant.<sup>48</sup>

To these stories from the *Prabhāvalacaritra*, Merutunga adds three others, one of which is mentioned also by Jinamāṇḍana. The first two of these are intended to show Hemacandra's erudition. It is said that he alone could explain a Sanskrit verse

sent by the king of Dāhala and that it was he who, on another occasion, had at once composed the second half of a Prakrit-Dodhaka, the first half of which had been sent for Jayasimha's poets as *samasyā* by the king of Sapādalaṣa. The Sanskrit-verse is the well-known riddle with the word *hāra*. It belongs to the favourite passages with which the Pandits amuse themselves in their *sabhās* and it is so easy that great scholarship is not needed for its solution.<sup>49</sup>

The third story has quite a different character. Once, says Merutunga, Siddharāja who was seeking the right path to deliverance, ordered an inquiry into the teachings of all sects of all nations. The result was unsatisfactory. Every teacher praised his own faith and censured all the other systems. The king was, therefore, as it seemed on a "swing of doubt" and turned finally to Hemacandra in order to know what the proper attitude should be in such circumstances. Hemacandra gave him his advice in the form of a parable, common in the Purāṇas. He said, there lived a merchant, ages ago, who neglected his own wife and gave away all his property to a courtesan. His wife tried zealously to win back the love of her husband and inquired after all means of magic with which to accomplish her end. Thereupon a Gauda promised her "to get her husband tied down to her with a bridle" and gave her some medicine with instructions to mix the same in the food. After some days, when the woman put this advice into practice, her husband was turned into a bull. Thereupon the whole world rebuked her, and she fell into deep despondency for she did not know how to undo the effect of her unholy action. Once she took her metamorphosed husband to the pasture for grazing. She sat in the shade of a tree, loudly weeping over her fate. In the meanwhile, she heard a conversation which was being carried on between Śiva and his wife Pārvatī in a *vimāna*, flying above in the air. Pārvatī asked about the cause of the sorrows of the shepherdess and Śiva told her all about it. He also added that a healing herb grew in the shade of that very tree, which was capable of metamorphosing the bull back into his own original form. As the kind of the creeper was not specifically designated, the woman gathered up all that grew under the shade of the tree and threw it before the bull. He ate it, and became a man again. Now, just as the unknown creeper, thus concluded Hemacandra, proved itself to be of a healing virtue, even so also a believing reverence for all religions leads one to salvation, even though one may not know which of them really deserves reverence. From that time the king respected all sects.<sup>50</sup> Jinamandana<sup>51</sup> gives another independent version of the story which is also much better in style. The same author also connects two more little anecdotes with this one. The one speaks of a second conversation over the same question, during which Hemacandra recommended to the king the so-called "common duties" such as generosity to worthy men, becoming behaviour towards venerable persons, kind heartedness towards all beings etc., and declared in the words of the *Mahābhārata* that those who were devoutly pious in their conduct and not those inclined to self castigation, nor yet the learned, were of real worth. According to the other anecdote, Hemacandra enlightened the king when the latter had a temple of Śiva and another of Mahāvīra built in Siddhapura, that the latter divinity was even greater than the former. For, though Śiva bears the moon on his forehead, all the nine planets may be seen at Mahāvīra's feet. Those who were well-versed in architecture corroborated

this statement and found that the temples of the Jinas were preferable to those of the Brahmanic gods in other respects also, according to the rules in their scriptures. Thereupon, thus it is concluded, Siddharāja discarded from himself the darkness of doubt.<sup>61</sup>

In view of the fact that some of the stories quoted appear to be mythical at the first sight, and that regarding most of the remaining, the *Prabandhas* contradict each other, it would be more than presumptuous to assume any of them as really historical. On the contrary, it is not at all improbable that they describe rightly on the whole the mode and manner in which Hemacandra behaved himself towards the king. Hemacandra would naturally have access to the audience of his lord during the last years of his life. He would have doubtless striven to shine out by his scholarship and smartness and he would have let no opportunity pass unexploited for a good word in favour of his own sect or at least for the equality of rights of the non-Brahmanic sects. In so doing, he would not miss to particularly stress those points in which the Jaina doctrine coincided with the Brahmanic faith. It will be shown later on that like a clever missionary he did not fail also in his works to make use of such points of coincidence, and when it suited his purpose, he invoked the authority of the most popular Brahmanic scriptures in his favour. Lastly, he certainly had ample opportunity of defending himself and his co-religionists against the attacks of envious Brahmins and the statement that he employed such devices, as the one mentioned in connection with the defence of Nemiscrita, is not incredible. Such traits are characteristically Indian and they are found very often amongst the Jainas. As yet one cannot with absolute certainty measure how great was the influence which Hemacandra exercised over Jayasimha to the advantage of his own sect. One might give credence, to a certain extent, to Hemacandra's own statement in the *Dvyaśraya*, according to which Jayasimha built a temple of Māhāvira in Siddhapura and paid his homage to Nemiscitha on the mountain Gunnār. For, there are enough examples, in old and recent times, of Indian Princes, who were not bigoted but rather liberal in their religious views, offering many presents to deities of faiths other than their own, indeed they have even worshipped them specially when they had to wait, like Jayasimha, vainly for the fulfilment of some long-cherished desire. But it is another question whether Jayasimha's propensity towards Jainism or favouritism towards the same, is to be ascribed exclusively to the efforts of Hemacandra. The most recent researches make it highly improbable that this was the case, for, they show that other Jaina-monks also had access to Jayasimha's court and were allowed to expound their doctrines to him. Amongst them, there is mention of a second Hemacandra, also named Maladhārīn, who appears, judging from the dates of his works, to have been ten to twenty years older than Hemacandra, the compiler of the Grammar. A work belonging probably to the 13th century, says "Jayasimha drank the nectar of his speech". In a *Prasasti* composed in about 1400 A. D., it is even said that he converted Jayasimha and induced him to adorn the Jaina temples in his own kingdom and foreign parts with golden flag-staves and knobs and also to issue an edict which prohibited the killing of animals on 80 days in each year. If one might put one's trust in these latter statements, then the achievements of the grammarian Hemacandra should be very doubtful. Unfortunately

however, the author of the *Prasasti* mentioned, the same Rājasekhara who wrote the *Prabandhakośa*, is so far removed from the events described that one can hardly believe him unconditionally. Besides this older Hemacandra, a Yati named Samudraghosa is said to have "entertained the Siddhapati in the capital of Gūjara".<sup>44</sup> At any rate, these statements are sufficient to prove that the grammarian Hemacandra was not the only Jaina-favourite of Jayasimha, as has been supposed by the *Prabhavalacaritra*, Merutunga and Jinamandana. He is their hero and they are dazzled by the brilliance of his position at the court of Kumārapāla. These circumstances have naturally influenced their representation of his relationship with Jayasimha.

## CHAPTER IV

### The Accounts regarding the First Acquaintance of Kumārapāla and Hemacandra

However much the opinions may differ as to Hemacandra's success as a missionary at Jayasimha's court, it is certain that it was his religious zeal and eloquence that was responsible for the conversion of the next Caulukya king. Jayasimha died in the Vikrama-year 1199, his desire of getting a son remaining unfulfilled. After a short inter-regnum, his grandnephew Kumārapāla ascended the throne of Gujarat, being helped by his brother-in-law, General Kṛṣṇa or Kāṇhada by name, and being elected by the prominent persons of the empire. Kumārapāla's great-grandfather was Ksemarāja, the eldest son of Bhīma I, who, according to one report, had renounced the throne willingly. But according to another report, he was overlooked in succession to the throne because his mother, named Cakulādevī, was a courtesan whom Bhīma had received in his harem. Ksemarāja's son Devaprasāda had been an intimate friend of king Karna, Bhīma's son, and had received from the latter the village Dadhisthalī, the present-day Dethlī, not far from Anhilvād, as a royal grant. At Karna's death, he burnt himself after having entrusted Jayasimha to his son Tribhuvanapāla. Tribhuvanapāla remained true to the lord of his family, just like his father. In battle, he used to stand before the king so as to protect him with his own body. He must have died long before the end of Jayasimha's rule, as he is not mentioned in the accounts of the last years of this king. As Jayasimha remained childless down to his old age, Kumārapāla naturally stepped into the foreground as the presumptive heir to the throne. In order to convince Jayasimha that his grand-nephew would ascend the throne of Anhilvād after his death, no revelations of Mahādeva or Ambikā, and no prophecies of the court-astrologers, about which the *Dvyāśraya* and the *Prabandhas* speak, were needed. But this idea was not at all agreeable to Jayasimha. He bitterly hated Kumārapāla and attempted to kill him. According to Merutunga's statement, the reason for his repugnance was Kumārapāla's descent from the courtesan Cakulādevī. According to Jinamaṇḍana's account, he hoped that, if Kumārapāla were cleared out of the way, Śiva might even yet grant him a son.

When Kumārapāla learned of the king's intentions, he fled from Dethli, and led for several years a wanderer's unsteady life, disguised as a Śivaitic ascetic first he seems to have continued staying in Gujarat. Later on, Jayasimha's persecutions, which increased in seriousness day by day, forced him to leave his motherland<sup>66</sup> The *Prabandhas* relate a number of romantic adventures which are supposed to have taken place at Kumārapāla's flight and during his erratic wandering in Gujarat and in foreign lands, they take great pains in representing Hemacandra as the protector of the persecuted prince and as the prophet of his future greatness. The *Prabhāvakacarita* contains the following statements about Hemacandra's part in Kumārapāla's destiny. Jayasimha, so it is said, came to know through his spies that Kumārapāla was found to be amongst a crowd of three hundred ascetics who had come to Anhilvād. In order to get hold of him, the king invited all of them to a feast. He himself washed the feet of each of them, apparently to show them his reverence, but really in order to find out who amongst them had the signs of royal dignity on the soles of his feet. As soon as he touched Kumārapāla's feet, he found the lines forming a lotus, a flag and a sunshade. He made a signal to his servants with his eyes. Kumārapāla saw the signal and fled most quickly into the dwelling place of Hemacandra, the spies following him. Hemacandra covered him quickly with a heap of palm-leaves under which the officials, hastily passing by, forgot to search for him. When the immediate danger was over, Kumārapāla absconded from Anhilvād and reached, after many adventures in the company of another Śivaitic Brahmin Bosari, the neighbourhood of Stambhatirtha or Cambay. Having arrived there, he sent his companion into the city to Śrīmālī Vāmā Udayana—the same man who had befriended Hemacandra's father, according to the above-mentioned story—and asked him for help. Udayana hesitated to have dealings with an enemy of the king. Thereupon, Kumārapāla, feeling very hungry, went himself to the city by night and came to a Jain-monastery where Hemacandra had taken up his residence during the rainy season. Hemacandra received him cordially, for he at once recognised him from his auspicious signs that this was the future king. He prophesied to him that he would ascend the throne in the seventeenth year and induced Udayana to give him food and money. Then Kumārapāla wandered further and passed here and there in foreign lands for seven years as a Kāpālīka, in company of his wife, Bhopāladevī. In 1199 Jayasimha died. When Kumārapāla received this news, he returned to Anhilvād with a view to securing the throne for himself. On his arrival there, he met one Śrīmat-Sām̐ba (?), an otherwise unknown personality. Śrīmat-Sām̐ba took him to Hemacandra in order to find out an auspicious sign, for he had still doubts as to his attaining the aim. On his entrance, Kumārapāla happened to sit down on the cushioned throne-seat of the monastery and supplied thereby, according to Hemacandra, the longed-for sign. The following day, the prince went with his brother-in-law Kṛṣṇadeva, a Sām̐anta, who had command over 10,000 soldiers, into the palace and was elected the king<sup>67</sup>

Merutunga's account of Kumārapāla's flight and wanderings, agrees on the whole with that of the *Prabhāvakacarita*. As regards the divergences in details, it is to be noted that Hemacandra appears only once in Merutunga's story. Merutunga says nothing about Kumārapāla's being hidden in Anhilvād under the palm-leaves by Hemacandra, nor does he mention the second prophecy immediately before the election

to the throne. He relates only the story of the meeting in Stambhatīrtha, with a few small variations. After Kumārapāla had wandered over various countries on his flight from Anhilvād, he turned towards Cambay with a view to begging Udayana for money for his travels. As Udayana was at the Jaina monastery when Kumārapāla arrived, the latter also went there. There he met Hemacandra who at once prophesied to him that he would become a king ruling over the whole earth. As Kumārapāla would not believe that, Hemacandra wrote his prophecy down and gave one copy to Udayana, the king's councillor, and another to the prince. Thereupon the latter said, "If it will come true, then thou shalt be the real king, I shall only be dust at thy feet." Hemacandra replied that the kingship was of no consequence to him but that Kumārapāla should not forget his word and should later on be thankful to the Jaina Dharma and faithful to it. Thereupon Kumārapāla was supplied with food and drink at Udayana's own house and was also given the desired money for the journey. Then he turned towards Mālvā where he remained till Jayasīmbha's death. When the latter died, he returned to Anhilvād and carried his election to the throne into effect with the help of his brother-in-law Kāhnadadeva 'who led him into the palace with his troops ready for war'.<sup>57</sup>

Jinamandana brings Kumārapāla and Hemacandra together much earlier. He describes, Kumārapāla had gone to the court to pay his homage, before the king persecuted him. There he saw Hemacandra sitting before the king and went soon afterwards to the monastery in order to meet the monk. There Hemacandra delivered him a sermon and finally made him take a vow "of viewing others' wives thenceforth as sisters".<sup>58</sup> Jinamandana's version of the story of Kumārapāla's flight is, as far as Hemacandra's part is concerned, a mixture of the stories of both the *Prabhāvakacaritra* and the *Prabandhacintāmanī*. According to his presentation Hemacandra meets—as Merutunga says—the fugitive first in Cambay. But the meeting takes place accidentally in a temple outside the gates of Cambay whereto Udayana also comes with a view to paying his homage to Hemacandra. The presence of Udayana is made use of in introducing his whole previous history which Hemacandra relates on being questioned by Kumārapāla as to who the visitor was. Then follows Hemacandra's prophecy and Kumārapāla's hospitable reception at Udayana's house, exactly as in Merutunga. On the contrary, it is said that Kumārapāla remained for a long time at his host's. Jayasīmbha received the news of his sojourn in Cambay and sent soldiers to capture him. Pursued by the latter he fled into Hemacandra's monastery and hid himself there under a heap of manuscripts in the cellar. The last episode is possibly a recast of the story of the first assistance of Devacandra which the *Prabhāvakacaritra* relates. Jinamandana appears to have felt that it was absurd to let Hemacandra appear on the scene first at Anhilvād and shortly afterwards at Cambay. Therefore he has probably changed the story of Kumārapāla's rescue under the palm-leaves at the latter place and has added, with a view to making it seem more probable, that the manuscripts lay in the cellar, as is always the case. Jinamandana's further description of Kumārapāla's wandering is much more detailed than in both the other works, and must have had its origin in some other sources. He makes the Prince first turn towards Vatapadra-Baroda, then towards Bhrgukaccha-Bioach, thence Kolhāpur, Kalyāna, Kāñci and other cities of Deccan and reach finally Mālvā via Pratiṣṭhāna-Parthan. A great part of this section is in verses and appears to be plagiarized from one of the many materials of *Kumārapālacarita*.<sup>59</sup>



## CHAPTER V

### The Stories Regarding Kumārapāla's Conversion

After these stories which represent Hemacandra as a saviour of the absconding prince and as the prophet of his future greatness, one would expect that soon after Kumārapāla's accession to the throne, there would be a mention of a close friendship between the two. That is, however, not the case. According to both of the oldest works, the intimate intercourse of the monk with the king began much later and that, too, not on account of the earlier beneficence of the monk, but owing to entirely different circumstances. After Kumārapāla had been crowned, so it is said in the *Prabhūvalacaritra*, he decided to suppress Arnorāja, the arrogant king of Sapādalakṣa i.e. Eastern Rājputānā, and accordingly prepared for the war. With all his barons and their troops he proceeded. After some days he reached the fortress Ajameru, the modern Ajmer. He besieged it but could not conquer it despite all endeavours. When the monsoons set in, he returned to Anhilvād without having carried his purpose into effect. At the beginning of the cold season he again set forth, but had, however, to return again at the end of the summer, without having achieved the fall of Ajmer. Eleven years passed in this way. Then he once asked his minister Vāgbhata, the son of Udayana, whether there were no deity, Yakṣa or Āsura, who could help him to achieve victory. Vāgbhata advised him to worship an image of Ajitasvāmin which was then obtainable in Anhilvād and which had been consecrated by Hemacandra. Kumārapāla consented and offered Ajitasvāmin presents of very rich substances as required by the Jaina-cult. At the same time, he promised that, in case he conquered his enemy through Ajita's grace, the latter alone should be "his God, his mother, his Guru and father." Then he again proceeded towards Mārvād for the twelfth time. The battle took place in the neighbourhood of the mountain Arbuda-Ābū. Arnorāja was totally beaten. Kumārapāla made a triumphal entry into Anhilvād. He did not forget his promise and offered his worship again in the temple of Ajitanātha. Soon afterwards, he proclaimed to his minister that he wanted to be instructed in the Jaina-tenets and asked him to secure him a teacher. Vāgbhata proposed that Hemacandra be invited to fulfil the king's wish. So it came to pass that Hemacandra preached before Kumārapāla with the result that the latter was moved to take the vows of laymen to renounce eating flesh and all other forbidden foods, and to study the law of the Jains.<sup>66</sup>

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Merutunga's narrative differs very much from the above one and is indeed full of romance. According to his account, Kumārapāla had to combat internal enemies immediately after his winning the crown. Then followed the campaign against Arporāja or Ānaka of Sapādalaksa and later a war against Mallikārjuna, the king of Konkan, who was beaten by Āmrabhata or Āmbada, the second son of Udayana. Between these two stories, an anecdote is interwoven about the singer, Sollāka, in which Hemacandra also is mentioned. Contradicting this there is also the account of the way and manner in which Hemacandra became the friend and teacher of Kumārapāla. An insult which Hemacandra received at the funeral of his mother Pāhni from the ascetics of Tripurusaprasāda in Anhilvād, drove him—according to Merutunga's report—into such anger that he decided to gain influence at the court so that he could take revenge for the insult. He betook himself to the royal camp which happened to be then at Malva. His old patron, the councillor Udayana, introduced him to the king. The king remembered his prophecy which Hemacandra had made during his flight. The king offered him his friendship and granted him the honour of access to his person at all times. This intercourse which developed so quickly had, however, no immediate results for the religious conviction of the king. Only a few anecdotes are given, e. g., the one about the quarrel with the Purohita Āmiga (see above p. 20), which prove Hemacandra's dexterity in self-defence against attacks. It was only when Kumārapāla returned sometime afterwards to Anhilvād that Hemacandra found an opportunity of beginning his work of conversion. Once Kumārapāla asked his friend, so it is said, how he could immortalize for all time the memory of his rule. Thereupon Hemacandra advised the king either to pay off every one's debts, as Vikramāditya had done, or to have a new stone-temple built in the place of the dilapidated wood-temple of Śiva-Somanātha in Devapattana. Kumārapāla preferred the latter and deputed at once an official to begin the erection. When it was reported that the foundation-stone had been laid, Hemacandra proposed to the king that he should take a vow for securing the happy conclusion of the project, and to that end either to observe complete chastity or to renounce indulgence in spirituous drinks and flesh-eating until the flag was unfurled on the pinnacle of the temple. Kumārapāla swore before a Śiva-linga to abstain from the prohibited drinks and dishes for the required length of time. After two years, the temple was completed and Kumārapāla wanted now to be freed from his vow. Hemacandra, however, prevailed upon him to hold the vow still longer, until he had worshipped the god in the new temple. Immediately, therefore, a pilgrimage towards Somanātha—or Devapattana—was undertaken and, on the advice of the envious Brahmins, Hemacandra also was invited thereto. The latter declared himself to be quite willing to visit the temple of Śiva. He however took first a roundabout route so as to visit the shrines of Satruñjaya and Gīrnār. At the gate of Devapattana he met the king and took part in the ceremonious entry-procession together with the king and with Gaṇḍa Brhaspati, the temple-priest of Somanātha. He was also moved by the request of his lord to worship even Śiva. Dressed in a costly costume, he entered the temple led by Brhaspati, praised its brilliance, made the usual sacrificial offerings according to the instructions of the *S'vapurāna* and threw himself prostrate before the Linga, dedicating the following verses to the God:

(1) Thou dost exist, whosoever Thou art, whatsoever Thy place, Thy time and Thy name may be! If Thou art the only one, free from stains and errors, then all reverence be to Thee, O Worthy of worship!

(2) Reverence to Him in whom the sorrows and the other causes of the seed of rebirth have vanished be He Brahman, Viṣṇu or Maheśvara!

When Hemacandra had finished his prayers, Kumārapāla worshipped, on his part, the god according to the instructions of the priest Bhaṣpati and distributed rich presents. Then he ordered his retinue to retire and visited, with Hemacandra, the Holiest of the holy. There he asked his friend to explain before the Linga truthfully the way to deliverance. Hemacandra meditated for a moment. Then he proposed to appeal to the god who was verily there, that He might manifest Himself and show the way to deliverance. Hemacandra himself undertook to sink into the deepest meditation in order to attain the desired end. He instructed the ling to bring immediately incense-offering of aloe-wood. As both of them thus were so busy and the adytum was filled with smoke-clouds, there, appeared all of a sudden a bright light and the beaming form of an ascetic was visible on the water-basin around the Linga. The king touched the apparition from its feet up to its head and having convinced himself that it was of divine origin, requested it for advice. Thereupon it told him that Hemacandra would surely lead him to deliverance. The apparition disappeared. The king then requested Hemacandra in all humility for instruction. The latter at once made him take a vow that he would never touch during all his lifetime either meat or spirituous drinks. After a short time, Kumārapāla returned to Anhilvād. He was won over more and more to the Jaina faith through Hemacandra's instructions in the holy scriptures as well as through his works, the *Trisaṣṭśalākāpuruṣacarita* and the *Togasūtra* and the twenty *stavas* composed in honour of Vitarāga. Kumārapāla also received the title of Paramārṇata, "the eager worshipper of the Arhata". He then promulgated an edict prohibiting the killing of animals for fourteen years in the eighteen provinces subject to him. He had 1440 Jaina temples built and took the twelve vows of Jaina-layman. When the third one, prohibiting stealing, was explained to him, he at once decided to break the old custom of confiscating the property of those subjects who had died without leaving an heir.<sup>61</sup>

Jinamaṇḍana essentially agrees with Merutunga. But he felt the inner contradiction which the story of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* as well as that of the *Prabhāvakacaritra* contained. It appeared to him as unbelievable that Hemacandra who had helped Kumārapāla on his flight and had prophesied his ascending the throne, should have been afterwards forgotten for so many years and that he could have obtained access to the court only through the intervention of the Jaina minister. He has therefore interwoven a new story at the beginning of his account. The story is to show that Hemacandra went to the court very soon after Kumārapāla's coronation. This story, however, betrays quite clearly that the author had the knowledge of the older accounts and that he had changed them deliberately. After enumerating the presents which were given to the councillor Udayana and to the other benefactors of the king, he

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says, Hemacandra was absolutely forgotten. In spite of that, he went to Anhilvād from Karnāvati a short time after Kumārapāla's coronation. He then asked Udayana whether the king remembered him. As the reply was in the negative, he requested Udayana to warn the king against visiting on a certain day the palace of his queen. He also permitted Udayana to mention his name in case the king insisted on knowing the name of the warner. Udayana brought home the warning to the king who acted accordingly. On the said day, the palace of the queen caught fire from lightning and was burnt to ashes. Thereupon the king asked the name of the unknown adviser. When Hemacandra's name was mentioned he was at once summoned by the king who promptly begged to be excused in all humility for his forgetfulness and promised him to rule entirely according to his counsel.<sup>61</sup> After showing that Hemacandra became Kumārapāla's friend and advisor soon after V S 1199, Jinamandana gives a short account of "the conquest of the world" by the king. In the subsequent account he follows wholly and literally Merutunga, excepting, of course, in one point, that is, he says nothing about the insult hurled at Hemacandra at the funeral of Pāhni and about the subsequent journey to Mālvā. The statements naturally did not suit him. In some details, he is more extensive than Merutunga and lengthens the account of Kumārapāla's conversion very much by many quotations which he attributes to Hemacandra.<sup>62</sup>

## CHAPTER VI

### Hemacandra's own Account of Kumārapāla's Conversion

If we compare these various stories about Kumārapāla's conversion with each other, it cannot be denied that the one given by Merutunga is written with very great dexterity and that his presentation is at first sight very attractive. It appears so natural that because of an insult from a Brahmin, Hemacandra should have thought of giving up his independence and placing himself under the protection of the king. The clever way in which he moves Kumārapāla for a certain time to follow some of the most important tenets of Jainism while at the same time he takes care not to put anything in the way of his patron's reverence to Śiva,—in fact he greatly encourages him in that,—betrays clearly the difficult situation in which he found himself in the court. This adaptation and apparent relaxation, the fooling of the king by a *hocus-pocus* and the subsequent clever exploitation of the favourable moment—all this seems quite credible and fits in very well with the character and the method of the Jaina-missionaries. On closer examination, however, many improbabilities or impossibilities are found in the account. It is easy to recognise, for example, that Merutunga indulges in an awful anachronism when he assumes that Udayana was Kumārapāla's minister and introduced Hemacandra to the king. According to Merutunga's own account (p. 9), Udayana came to Gujarat shortly after the beginning of Jayasimha's rule, i. e., about V. S. 1150. Kumārapāla ascended the throne about 50 years later, in V. S. 1199. It is then simply impossible that he could have lived still for any length of time under Kumārapāla or that he could ever have served him. Merutunga's assumption, too, that Hemacandra advised the rebuilding of the temple in Devapattana, does not at all agree with the statements in an older document. For, in the inscription dated Valabhī-Samvat 850 or V. S. 1225 in the temple of Bhadrakālī at Devapattana, which was first of all made known by Colonel J. Tod, it is quite explicitly said in the 11th verse that the Ganda Brhaspati, who had already been in great favour with Jayasimha, persuaded Kumārapāla to rebuild the ruined temple of Śiva-Somanātha.<sup>66</sup> Such an assumption has, since it dates from the time of Kumārapāla's reign, significantly far more probability than Merutunga's much later statement. If this inscription be in the right, then the whole further narrative of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* becomes unbelievable. If ever these points raise suspicion against the faithfulness of the tradition contained in Merutunga's works, then the same

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tradition and also the narrative of the *Prabhāvalacaritra* prove as almost completely worthless in light of Hemacandra's own utterances about Kumārapāla's history and his relationship to him. Hemacandra devotes no less than four *sargas* XVI-XIX in the *Dvyās'rayakāvya* to the description of the successful war which Kumārapāla led against Arnorāja, king of Śākambharī-Sāmbhar in Rājputānā, and against Ballāla, king of Mālvā. Although no definite dates are given, it may yet be taken as certain from the description that Kumārapāla was involved in external complications soon after his coronation and that a considerable time had passed before he emerged successfully from them. The war with Arnorāja began immediately after Kumārapāla's coronation and appears to have lasted for a considerable number of years. Soon afterwards followed the campaign against Ballāla, which appears to have ended in a shorter time. After this was over, so it is said in the XX *sarga*, Kumārapāla prohibited killing of animals in Gujārat. After the king had published the edict to protect the animals, it is said further, he gave up the custom of confiscating the property of those who died without leaving behind an heir. Later on, he had the temple of Śiva at Kedāra or Kedārnātha in Garhwal and at Devapattana in Kāthiavād rebuilt, and thereupon he had the temple of Pāśvanātha in Anhilvād and Devapattana erected, the former of which bore the name Kumāravihāra. The last events of the time of Kumārapāla's reign, as mentioned in the *Dvyās'raya*, are the building of a temple of Śiva in Anhilvād and the foundation of a new era which bore his name<sup>65</sup>. From these statements one may conclude with absolute certainty that Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism took place after the war with Mālvā. It also becomes probable that Hemacandra, although he does not touch upon his own relationship to the king by a single word in the *Dvyās'raya*, was acquainted with the king earlier and had influence over him. The latter conclusion is fully corroborated by a passage in another work of Hemacandra. In his *Mahāvīracarita* Hemacandra makes Tirthankara deliver a prophecy on Kumārapāla's reign to Prince Abhaya, in which his name occurs and in which the beginning of his acquaintance with the king is related. After Mahāvīra's preliminary description of the city of Anhilvād, he proceeds further as follows

45-46. When, O Abhaya, 1669 years will have passed after my Nirvāna, then there will live in that city (Anhilvād) the long-armed king Kumārapāla, the moon of the Caulukya-line, a powerful lord of all.

47. This large-hearted one, a hero in the fulfilment of the law, in generosity and in the battle, will lead his people to the highest prosperity, protecting it as a father.

48. Very clever and yet of upright mind, in his majesty fiery as the sun and yet filled with the peace of the soul, punishing arrogant attacks and yet always ready to forgive, he will protect the world for a long time.

49. He will make his people like unto himself, firm in the fulfilment of the law, even as a wise teacher trains a good pupil.

50. Granting protection to those who seek it, and like as a brother to the wives of other men, he will esteem the sacred law above riches and as life.

51. On account of his bravery, his fulfilment of the law, his generosity, his mercy, his might and other manly virtues, he will stand without a rival.

52. He will conquer the region of Kubera as far as the kingdom of the *Turuṣkas*, that of Indra as far as the river of gods, that of Yama as far as the Vindhya, and the west as far as the ocean.

53. Once this prince will see the teacher Hemacandra, who has arisen from the race of Muncandra in the Vajrasākhā.

54. Delighted at the sight of him, as the peacock is delighted at the appearance of the clouds, this good man will hasten to do honour daily to that monk.

55. This king will go with his minister of the Jaina faith to honour that Sūri whilst the latter is preaching in the temple of the Jina about the sacred law.

56. There he will, though ignorant of the truth, pray to the god, and honour that teacher with a naturally pure heart.

57. After he has heard with delight the noble sermon about the law from his lips, he will take the minor vows and will then strive after the vow of perfection.

58. After enlightenment has come to him, he will fully learn the life of the faithful, and, resting in the audience-chamber, will ever delight himself with the speeches about the sacred law.<sup>66</sup>

This prophecy agrees excellently with the statements of the *Dvyaśrayakāvya* and completes the same. The somewhat poetically coloured description of the frontiers of the Gujarat Empire gives us clearly to understand that it extended in the north-east by overthrowing the Sapādalaksa or in the eastern Rājputānā by defeating Sākambhari-Sāmbhar and in the south-east by conquering Mālvā. Kumārapāla's acquaintance with Hemacandra began, according to the verse 53, in the time when the empire had achieved its greatest expansion and when the war-expeditions and conquests were over. His conversion was the result of a sermon preached by Hemacandra when he had gone to the Jaina temple in the company of an unnamed minister in order to pay his homage to the monk who had made a deep impression on him.

These statements of Hemacandra himself make it first of all necessary to reject as fanciful all the above-described anecdotes as to his earlier relations with Kumārapāla during his flight. The anecdotes were composed probably with a view to motivating the later relationship. They show, moreover, that the further accounts of the *Prabandhas* as to the renewal of the acquaintance and the conversion contain in them little historical element. The above-given narrative of the *Prabhāvakacaritra*, according to which Kumārapāla was moved by his minister Vāgbhata to invoke Ajitasvāmin to help him against Arjorāja and was converted to Jainism by reason of the fulfilment of his prayer, cannot be true, for the war with Mālvā, which is not mentioned in the *Prabhāvakacaritra*, took place even before the conversion; so that it was not awe at Hemacandra's miraculous powers but appreciation of his life and teachings that induced the king to listen to

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Hemacandra's sermons. Merutuṅga's detailed account contradicts Hemacandra's own account still more, as may easily be seen. There are only two points in which the *Prabandhas* agree to some extent with Hemacandra, thereby preserving real tradition. In the first place, they are no doubt correct when they state that Kumārapāla's Jaina minister introduced Hemacandra to the court and was interested in creating favourable ground for his faith. For, the mention of the "Jaina" minister, who according to the *Mahāvīracarita* accompanied the king to the temple, is not made without any reason. We may take it for granted that it was this Jaina companion who occasioned Hemacandra's acquaintance with the king and who induced the latter to visit the temple. Most probably the minister was Vāgbhata, son of Udayana, whom the *Prabhāvahacaritra* mentions in the above-mentioned narrative of conversion. The poem in praise of the Kumāravihāra written by Hemacandra's pupil Vardhamāna testifies that Vāgbhata really belonged to the group of the ministers of Kumārapāla. Several stories of the *Prabandhas* maintain that Hemacandra consecrated either in V. S. 1211 or 1213 the temple which Vāgbhata had built in Śatruñjaya in memory of his father who had fallen in the battle against Navaghana, the Cūdāsamā king of Vāmanasthali. One *Prabandha* says, further, that Hemacandra did the same service in V. S. 1220 to Āmrabhata, second son of Udayana, for his temple of Suvrata in Broach, whereas the other *Prabandhas* (see under) relate a legend about Hemacandra's healing of Āmrabhata.<sup>67</sup> If to this be added Merutuṅga's statement, even though an anachronism, that Hemacandra was introduced to Kumārapāla by the father of both the brothers (p. 29), then it does not seem too bold to regard the family of Udayana as the prime cause of Hemacandra's influence at the court of Anhilvād and to regard him as the family's particular protégé. A second historical element in the stories of the *Prabandhas* is the statement that Kumārapāla's conversion took place, not in the beginning but about the middle of his reign. Here also they agree, as has been shown, with Hemacandra's statements.

The exact date of this event appears to have been preserved in the drama, already referred to above, the *Moharājaparājaya* by the councillor Yaśahpāla. The conversion of the king is allegorically mentioned as his marriage with the princess Kṛpāsundarī i. e. the beautiful Mercy, the daughter of Dharmarāja and the Viratidevī. Hemacandra is mentioned as the Priest who ordained the marriage tie before Arhat. According to the quotation of Jinamandana from the *Moharājaparājaya*, this marriage took place in V. S. 1216, Marga sudi 2. If, as may be well supposed, this date really occurred in the drama, then it must be taken as authentic, for the *Moharājaparājaya* was written, as is shown in the Note 6, a few years after the death of Kumārapāla, between V. S. 1229 and 1232.<sup>68</sup> We may also add to this that Kumārapāla received the title *Paramas'rāvaka* i. e. 'the most eager hearer (of the Jaina-doctrine)', in the colophon of an old MS. which was written five years later, in V. S. 1221, while his conversion is not mentioned in a Jaina-inscription of V. S. 1213.<sup>69</sup>

If we accept now V. S. 1216 as the date of Kumārapāla's conversion, then we may place his first meeting with Hemacandra one or two years earlier. Even if the *Mahāvīracarita* assumes that the king, after coming to know the distinguished Teacher, "will hasten to revere him daily", it is of no avail to weigh these words as of gold. It



must have taken a long period of secret intrigue before the king allowed himself to visit the Jaina Upāsraya and to sit at the feet of Hemacandra as a listener to the sermon. However, as to the manner in which the gradual friendship was formed and how Hemacandra won the favour and the confidence of the king, we may at least put forward certain assumptions, not wholly baseless, with the help of some suggestions from his other works, even though we may fail to attain full certainty. But before these remarks are made, it is necessary to go over Hemacandra's activities during the period from V. S. 1199, the year of Jayasimha's death, until his acquaintance with Kumārapāla in V. S. 1214 or V. S. 1215.

As has been said above on p. 18, Hemacandra had undertaken, after his appointment as the Court-Pandit about V. S. 1194, the task of writing a complete series of manuals for the worldly sciences and specially for Sanskrit Composition. Of these, the Grammar and its appendices with the commentary, perhaps also both of the Sanskrit Lexica and the first fourteen cantos of the *Dryās'rayakāvya* were completed before Jayasimha's death. After V. S. 1199 he appears to have pursued his plan further without worrying the loss of his position in the court, and worked on tirelessly as a private scholar. The first work belonging to this period, is his Manual of Poetics, the *Alamkāracūdāmanī*.<sup>69</sup> In the above-mentioned (Note 38) passage of the same it is said that it was written after the completion of the Grammar, and another very striking circumstance shows quite clearly that its compilation took place at a time when the author did not enjoy royal favour. For, the dedication, the compliment to the ruler of Gujarat, is lacking not only in the text but also in the commentary which contains a great number of verses. This latter point is all the more weighty as it was a fashion of the court-writers on poetics always to add verses in honour of their patrons. And Hemacandra himself is no exception, for we find him missing no opportunity of flattering his lord in two of his other works. The one case in point occurring in the Commentary on his Grammar was mentioned above. The second one will be forthwith discussed. Particularly in a work on Poetics it would have been easy to celebrate the heroic deeds of Jayasimha or Kumārapāla in the same way as is done by the older Vāgbhata in his *Alamkārasāstra*.<sup>70</sup> As, however, this does not happen, it can well be supposed that the author at the time of writing the work, had no connection with the king and it is not hard to determine that that was the period between Jayasimha's death and the beginning of the acquaintance with Kumārapāla. The same is true about the *Chandonuśāsana*,<sup>71</sup> the work on Metrics, which was written, as is evident from the introductory verses, immediately after the *Alamkāracūdāmanī*, as also about the Commentary belonging to it. Here, too, we miss the dedication and the compliments to the king in the illustrations. Moreover, it is to be noted that the texts of both of these manuals were first finished and the commentary on the *Alamkāracūdāmanī* was written just after the completion of the *Chandonuśāsana*. This is evident from the fact that Hemacandra refers to the latter in the former and speaks of it as a completed work.<sup>72</sup> Also numerous supplements to both the great Sanskrit Kosas had their origin in that period as well as, surely, the text of the Prakrit Lexicon, the *Deśināmamālā* or *Ratnāvalī*. To the supplements belongs, first of all, the *Sesākhya Nāmamālā* which purports to complete the *Abhidhānacintāmanī*, and which contains particularly extracts from Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaṇyanāntī*.<sup>73</sup> Then the *Nighaṇṭu* or *Nighaṇṭusēsa*,

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known so little as yet, is to be mentioned. The tradition of the Jaina-scholars assumes that Hemacandra wrote six small works of this name. However, only three of them are so far discovered. Two give short survey of botanic names while the third deals with precious stones.<sup>14</sup> It is not improbable that these works were written in imitation of the older *Dharmavartanughanṭu* and the *Ratnaparikṣā*. Also in these works one misses that hint that they were written at the king's command. However, a doubt may be raised at least with regard to the *Śeṣākhyā Nāmamālā*, whether it was written between V. S. 1199 and 1214/15, for the same has been inserted in many MSS. in the Commentary of the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* and this latter belongs, as will be shown below, to the last years of Hemacandra's life. The *Deśināmamālā*, on the other hand, was probably written shortly before Hemacandra's acquaintance with Kumārapāla. For, Hemacandra suggests in the third verse of the Introduction and says in the explanation of the same verse (pp 2-3) quite expressly that he had previously completed not only his Grammar but also his Sanskrit-Koṣas and his Manual of Poetics. On the other hand, the commentary, which was certainly written later, contains no less than fifteen verses in which the king is mentioned by name, while in nine others the designation Cālukya or Culukya occurs and a great number of them are addressed simply to the king. These verses, all of which are applicable to Kumārapāla, praise his heroic deeds, describe the greatness of his glory and the misery of his foes, or praise his generosity. In one place, there seems also an allusion to a particular historical event. It is said in VI, 118.

"O Thou, whose courage emits unbroken sparks, O Lord of the goddess of Victory, does not thy fame ramble about freely, just like an unchaste Cāndāla-woman, even in the Palli-land?"<sup>15</sup>

The Palli-land is the district of Pālī in Rājputānā between Jodhpur and Ajmer. It is to be recognised, therefore, that in this verse there is an allusion to Kumārapāla's victory over Aṇṇorāja, the king of Sapādalakṣa, or Śākambharī-Sāmbhar.

Whatever may be thought of this verse, there remains, however, the very conspicuous fact that Hemacandra in the Commentary to his *Deśināmamālā* glorifies only the victory and the bravery of Kumārapāla but does not speak of his piety and of his faith in the Jaina tenets. This fact strengthens the conclusion that this work was written after Hemacandra had obtained access to Kumārapāla's court, but before he began his work of conversion. Therefore, the date of the compilation of the Commentary must roughly be V. S. 1214-15. The above-mentioned fact further gives a scent as to the way and manner in which Hemacandra began to win the favour of the king. First of all, he appears to have made use of his temporal art and worldly knowledge to create a favourable impression. After his introduction by his patron, the minister Vāgbhata, he probably received the permission to appear at the usual daily audience of the scholars. His position is naturally prominent from the outset. His reputation as a scholar had been for long firmly established and it could not have failed to influence Kumārapāla, even if the latter began to study, as an anecdote given by Merutunga reports, the sciences just in his old age. Hemacandra would certainly not have hidden his light under a bushel but would have radiated it through his deep erudition at the discussions of the scholars in the king's presence. Apart from the strictly scientific accomplishments, he undoubtedly influenced the king

by his panegyrics on Kumārāpāla's war-activities of which the verses partly very cleverly composed in the commentary on the *Deś'nāmamālā* give examples. There was probably no lack of opportunity for religious discussions at the Court. According to all accounts, Kumārāpāla was about fifty years old when he ascended the throne and when the completion of his war-expeditions allowed him to take rest, he had attained his sixty-third year. That at such an age he turned to religious questions can well be understood, this being usual especially in the case of Indians. Moreover, be it noted that for years he wandered here and there, as the *Prabandhas* would have us believe, as a Śivaite ascetic and that he, as Hemacandra says in the *Yogas'āstra* (see Note 80), had "seen" various manuals of the Yoga and took great interest in the Yogic practices of the ascetics, which would first of all bring supernatural powers and finally would lead to deliverance. Hemacandra also was very expert in these doctrines, as his last-named work shows, and he appears to have performed the prescribed spiritual exercises himself for he bases his description of the practices on personal experience (Note 80). So far, the circumstances were well favourable to persuade even a king to abandon Śaivism to which his race had paid homage from time immemorial and to go over to the heterodox Jaina sect which was very influential and had been honoured in Gujarat for many years." As his works show, Hemacandra was never in want of skill. He probably began with caution and, as the *Prabandhas* state, he emphasised wherever possible the harmony between the doctrines of Jainism and those of the orthodox systems. The *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp 124 ff., particularly gives long sermons in extenso, in which Hemacandra attempts to prove the identity of Jina and Śiva as well as Viṣṇu, and refers to the canonical works of the Brahmins for the doctrine of preserving the life of animals. However little one may rely on the wording of these and similar passages, they without doubt clearly show the way in which Hemacandra approached the works. For, in the commentary on his *Yogas'āstra* he cites among other things, passages from the Brahmanical works, with the introductory words. "So say even the believers of false doctrines," in confirmation of the Jaina doctrines, and also in the text of this work (III, 21,26), Manu's words against meat-eating, with mention of his name, are given. There is, however, no trace in his works of an identification of the Brahmanical gods with the Jinās. In spite of this, it is quite possible that he made use of them in his sermons, they were usual even in the 12th century. In the *Maṅgala* to the Nāmdol deed of presentation of the princes Alhana and Kelhana of V. S. 1218, we read :

"To liberation may also the gods Brahman, Śrīdhara and Śankara lead [us,] who, always renouncing passions, are known in the world as Jinās!"

However, Hemacandra's task had been troublesome and success did not crown it so rapidly as too strict an interpretation of the above-mentioned passage from the *Mahāvīracarita* would have us believe. It is particularly likely that, as the *Prabandhas* relate, Hemacandra was continually disturbed in his work by hostile influences and that all the Brahmins were bent upon to counteract his influence over the king and, above all, to hinder the formal conversion of the latter. Merutunga's above-mentioned anecdotes, according to which malicious and envious people set traps for Hemacandra, describe the general situation quite rightly, even if one might not agree in details. In the same way

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Jinamaṇḍana's story, which relates that Rājācārya Devabodhi, the spiritual instructor of the king, champions the old religion, may have an historical basis despite the fact that the story in its present setting is purely mythical.<sup>78</sup> The event most probably did not take place without a hard fight. Without doubt, the already mentioned *Yogasāstra* particularly played a very essential part in keeping Kumārapāla firm in his new faith, as is mentioned in the *Prabandhas*.<sup>79</sup> Hemacandra wrote it under order of his lord<sup>80</sup> In the concluding stanza of the work, XII, 55, it is said

"This secret doctrine of Yoga, which—a part here and a part there—has been learnt from the holy scriptures, from the mouth of a good teacher and from one's own experience and which rouses wonder in the minds of the competent public, has been dressed in words by the teacher Hemacandra as a result of the earnest request of the illustrious Caulukya king Kumārapāla."

The same thing is expressed in the two stanzas at the end of the commentary, which immediately follow the above ones

1 "Owing to the request which the illustrious Caulukya king made to me, I wrote this commentary on the *Manual of Yoga*—so named by me—an ocean of the Nectar of Truth May it enjoy (its existence) so long as these three worlds—Earth, Air and Heaven—possess the Jaina-doctrine."

2 "Through the merit which I attained by the *Manual of Yoga* and its exposition, may the good man be induced to win for himself the enlightenment of Jina "

Also in the colophon to each of the twelve *Pralās'as*, each time it is mentioned that Kumārapāla wished to hear the work and that it was "crowned" (*saṃjātapaṭṭabandha*), that is, it received the royal approbation. The first four chapters, already published, which form more than three-fourths of the whole, give a short resumé of the Jaina-doctrine, particularly as it affects the position of layman, and the very extensive commentary enlarges the same to the most lucid and comprehensible exposition of the system which has ever been written. The author clearly indicates that this part is written with a view to instructing his lord for, in the commentary, he often particularly and exhaustively dwells upon the duties of a Jaina king. The last eight *Pralās'as* deal with the actual Yoga, the ascetic practices which lead finally to *mukti* or deliverance. The exposition of this part, after which the work is in fact named, is very short and only occupies something like a tenth of the whole *Vṛtti*. It is remarkable that a very long description of those practices precedes the Jaina-Yoga, which, in the author's own words, are useless for attaining *mukti*, but which afford, on the contrary, a peep into the future and grant supernatural powers. It appears that Hemacandra also believed in their efficacy and perhaps devoted himself to them. If he finds so much place as one long chapter for their description, it must have been in consideration of the excessive love of the king for the Yoga-praxis about which he relates in the commentary on XII, 55. The *Vitarāgastotra*, which was similarly composed for Kumārapāla, perhaps even earlier than the *Yogasāstra*,

might have received less significance. It gives a short presentation of the Jaina-tenets in the form of a *Prasasti* to Jina<sup>81</sup>. The text of the *Yogas'āstra*, as also the *Vitarāgastotra*, was probably written shortly after V. S. 1216. The commentary, on the other hand, was probably completed a few years later. The very significant extent of the latter leads us to suppose that Hemacandra worked on it for a considerable time even if he were ever so diligent and even if he had taken the help of his pupils.

## CHAPTER VII

### The Consequences of Kumārapāla's Conversion

Now, in regard to the question, what practical results Hemacandra achieved through Kumārapāla's conversion, the prophecy in the *Mahāvīracarita* gives a very clear answer, besides the above-mentioned (p 38) information in the *Dvyās'rayalāṅkya*. The prophecy continues after the description of the conversion, already noted, as follows –

59 “He (Kumārapāla) will keep everyday to the vows, particularly to those relating to rice, vegetables, fruits and others (other foods), and will generally practise chastity ”

60 “This wise man will not only avoid courtesans, but will admonish his lawful wives to practise chastity ”

61 “According to the instruction of that monk (Hemacandra), he, who knows the general principles ( of the faith), the doctrine of that which has soul and of that which has no soul, and so forth, will, like a teacher, procure enlightenment for others also ”

62 “Even the Brāhmanas of the Pānduranga (sect) and others, who hate the *Arhat*, will, at his command, become equal to those who are born in the faith.”

63 “This man, learned in the law, will, after having taken the vow of a believer, not take his meals without having worshipped in the Jaina temples and without having bowed before the teachers.”

64. “He will not take the property of men who have died without leaving sons. That is the result of right insight for, ( only ) those without insight are never satisfied ”

65 “He himself will give up hunting, which even the Pāndus and others ( pious kings of ancient times ) did not give up, and all other people will give it up at his command ”

66 “As he has prohibited the harming of living creatures, there can be no thought of injury and other things like that, even a man of the lowest birth will not kill even bugs, lice and the like (insects) ”

67. "After he has forbidden hunting, game of all kinds will chew the cud in the forest, undisturbed as cows in the cow-shed "

68. "He, who equals Indra in might, will always insist upon the care of all living beings, whether they live in water, on land or in air."

69. "Even the creatures which eat meat from their birth will, as a result of his command, forget the very mention of meat like an evil dream "

70. "Spirituous drinks (the enjoyment of which) has not been given up by the Daśārhas, though they believe in the Jina, will be prohibited everywhere by this (prince) with the pure soul "

71. "So thoroughly will he stop the preparation of spirituous drinks throughout the world, that even the potter will no longer make liquor jugs "

72. "The drunkards, who are impoverished because of their passion for intoxicants, will prosper again, after they have given up drink at his command."

73. "He will destroy the very name of the game of dice, which Nala and other princes had not given up, like the name of a personal foe "

74. "So long as his glorious reign lasts, there will be no pigeon-race and no cock-fights "

75. "In almost every village, he, whose wealth is immeasurable, will adorn the earth with temples of Jina."

76. "On the whole earth, as far as the ocean, he will cause the statues of the Arhat to be borne in procession on cars, in every village, in every town "

77. "After he had continually given money away, and redeemed every one's debts, he will introduce his era on the earth "

78. "Once he will hear, on the occasion of a story related through the mouth of his teacher, about that (Jina-) statue buried in the dust, which the seer Kapila consecrated "

79. "Then he will form the desire 'I shall dig up the sandy place, and shall have the all-consecrating statue brought hither' "

80. "When the king is conscious of such great enthusiasm, and also learns of other auspicious signs, then he will be convinced that the statue will reach his hands "

81. "Then, after obtaining the permission of his teacher, he will give the order to his officials to dig up that place of Vītabhaya "

82. "Then, as a result of the purity of the king, who is faithful in his devotion to the Arhat, the goddess, who keeps a watch over the holy doctrine, will appear."

83. "As a result of the extremely great merit of the king Kumārapāla, the statue will soon come to light, when the place is excavated "

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84. "Then, too, the grant of villages, which king Udayana had made to this statue, will come to light "

85. "The king's officials will place this old statue in a car, as if it were a new one, after having done honour to it as is prescribed."

86. "Whilst, on the way, divine service of various kinds is being held, whilst concerts are being given day and night without interruption,"

87. "Whilst the women of the villages clap their hands loudly and rejoice, whilst the five-toned drums sound joyously,"

88. "Whilst the fans rise and fall on either side, the officials will convey this holy statue to the boundary of Pattana "

89. "Accompanied by the ladies of his palace and his servants, surrounded by the four columns of his host, the king will go to meet it with the whole community "

90. "Dismounting from his chariot himself and mounting the state elephant, the prince will escort the image into the city "

91. "After Kumārapāla has erected it in a pleasure-house near his palace, he will pay homage to it, as prescribed, morning, noon and night "

92. "After he has read the grant made to the statue, he will confirm that which was given by Udayana "

93. "That temple built solely of gold, O Crown Prince, as its splendour appears to be incredible, will arouse the wonder of the whole world "

94. "After the statue has been erected within it, the prince will increase in might, wealth and highest happiness "

95. "Through his devotion to the gods, through his devotion to the teacher, King Kumārapāla will resemble thy father, O Abhaya, in the Bhārata land "

If we now compare these statements with those of the *Dvyāś'rayakāvyā*,<sup>22</sup> we see that Kumārapāla strove after making Gujarat, in certain respects, a model Jaina-state. He renounced not only for himself the enjoyments and pleasures prohibited by the Jaina-doctrine but he induced also his subjects to impose upon themselves the same privations. He issued an ordinance which required the protection of the animal life to the greatest extent, and which was applied most vigorously in all parts of his empire. The Brahmins who killed animals while performing sacrifices were, as the *Dvyāś'raya* says, forced to give up the practice and to use corn instead of flesh. Also in the Pallideśa in Rājputānā one had to submit to that ordinance, and the ascetics of that region, who used to wear antelope-skin, found it hard to procure the same. So it happened, as is said in the *Mahāvīracarita*, that Paṇdurangas, i.e. Śivaites, and other Brahmins had to live like born Śravakas. Prohibition of hunting, about which the latter work speaks, was the natural consequence of this edict and, according to the *Dvyāś'raya*, even the inhabitants



of the Pāñcāladeśa, that is, the tribes of the middle Kāthiāvād, who were great offenders, had to bow to the same order. A further result was the measure, mentioned in the *Dvyāś'raya*, against the butchers who had to give up their trade and received as compensation a lump sum of their three years' income. According to the *Mahāvīracarita* the protection of animal life was extended even to noxious insects. If we trust Merutunga, this statement is no exaggeration at all. For, he describes in the *Yūkāvihāraprabandha*<sup>33</sup> how a "simple-minded" merchant, in the land of Sapādalakṣa, who had crushed a louse, was dragged to Anhilvād by the officer in charge of enforcing the law for the protection of animals, and how, as a punishment for his offence, he had to build the *Yūkāvihāra* at the cost of the whole of his fortune. Out of all proportion as this punishment may seem, it was merciful in comparison with the punishment which, according to the *Prabhāvakacaritra*, was incurred by Lakṣa, the bearer of the betel-bowl of Kelhana, the Prince of Nādūla-Nāmdol. When it was known that Lakṣa had placed a dish of raw meat before the Lokāloka-Chaitya in Anhilvād, he was sentenced to death.

Along with the prohibition of meat-eating, spirituous drinks were also forbidden in conformity with the second Jaina 'Gupāvrata'. The same is the case with the game of dice, animal fights and betting which last the third 'Gupāvrata' designates as abominable. The *Dvyāś'rayakāvya* says nothing about the edicts regarding these two points. They are, however, mentioned in the *Prabandhas*.<sup>34</sup> As the above-mentioned story by Merutunga shows, and as Jinamandana expressly corroborates it, Kumārapāla appointed special officers to enforce the execution of his edicts. Finally, of very great significance for the Jaina community was the law abolishing the practice of confiscating the property of those merchants who left behind them no sons, but widows. It appears that this cruel custom, which contradicts the principles of the *Smṛtis*, prevailed from ancient times in various provinces, particularly in the west of India. Already Kālidāsa, whose home was Mālvā bordering on Gujarat, knows of this custom and mentions it in the *Abhyāñanas'ālumitāla*. There the minister informs the king Duṣyanta that the merchant Dhanavṛddhi has perished in a shipwreck and that as he has left no direct descendants (*anapatya*), his property of many millions must be confiscated for the royal treasury. Duṣyanta, who is of yielding nature owing to his own childlessness, declares first of all that he will give up his claim in favour of a pregnant wife of the deceased, but reconsiders the matter afterwards and issues an edict abolishing such confiscations altogether. From this story, which surely does not belong to the old Śakuntalā-saga but was invented by Kālidāsa, one may certainly conclude that the confiscation of the property of childless merchants was in vogue in the sixth century of the Christian era, at least in the birthplace of the poet. It is evidently clear that this custom hit the Jainas particularly hard for the majority of them lived by commerce and money-transactions. The orthodox kings would probably have treated them, without consideration, as heretics. One can therefore easily understand that Kumārapāla's decision, as is said in the *Dvyāś'rayamahākāvya*, was greeted with great enthusiasm and that not only the *Prabandhas* but also the Brāhmin Someśvara in the *Kīrtikāumudī* highly praised the king.<sup>35</sup>

Apart from these coercive measures, Kumārapāla proved his zeal for the Jaina-faith by building temples, by at least one grant of land, and by his placing the Jaina-cult

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on a perfectly equal footing with the Brahmanical fellowships of faith. This last point is mentioned only in the *Mahāvīracarita*, verse 76 says that Kumārapāla everywhere "ordered to carry in a procession the statues of the Arhat in solemn dresses on cars." We must understand this expression in this way that the king did not himself institute Jaina-Rathayātrās in all places but he gave permission to celebrate these to the small communities throughout the country. As is well-known, Indians are never so enthusiastic as when they carry in public processions images of gods placed on high cars. Now the minority sects are, whenever possible, prevented to carry on their *yātrās* by those in majority and particularly the Jainas suffer in this respect from the pressure of other sects. Even in recent years there took place a keen fight in Delhi between the Vaiṣṇavas and the Digambaras on account of the *rathayātrā* which the latter wanted to organize. There is no doubt that during the time of the orthodox kings, the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat were not permitted to exhibit their divine images in public and that Kumārapāla was the first king to grant that privilege to them. If this explanation be accepted, the assertion of the *Mahāvīracarita* that the *rathayātrās* took place in every village is not unbelievable. For, almost every village in Gujarat has its small Jaina *saṃgha* which consists of dealers in money and merchants. As regards the temple-buildings, the *Dvyāś'rayakāvya* speaks of only two, namely, the Kumāravihāra in Anhilvād and another, also equally important, in Devapatana. The *Mahāvīracarita*, on the contrary, opines in verse 75 that "almost every" village maintained a Jaina Cāitya, but it refers particularly to a single one in Anhilvād, which must be the Kumāravihāra. The first assertion is naturally an exaggeration as befits the prophetic style. One must understand the statements of the *Mahāvīracarita* probably to mean that Kumārapāla had a great number of small public edifices erected, which apparently were not important enough to be given separate names, and, besides these, the great, beautiful temple in Anhilvād. With the help of this interpretation, the temples mentioned in the *Mahāvīracarita* may well be reconciled with those mentioned in the *Dvyāś'raya*, if we accept that the latter wants to mention only the most noteworthy edifices and that it was written somewhat later than the *Mahāvīracarita*. The *Prabhāṃhas* also mention many of these temples. The *Prabhāvakacarita* speaks, first of all, of the Kumāravihāra at Anhilvād, whose foundation it ascribes to the minister Vāgbhata. Afterwards, it relates that the king ordered to be erected 32 small Vihāras as penance for the sins of his teeth, that he erected moreover a statue of Nemnātha in the temple of his father, Tihupapāla or Tribhuvanapāla; that he had a temple built on the mountain Śatruñjaya, and that he adorned all *deś'astihānas*, i. e. the main places in each province, with the Jaina-Cāityas. Right at the end of this work, we find also the story from the *Mahāvīracarita* about the discovery of the image of the Arhat in the ruins of Vītabhaya.<sup>86</sup>

Merutunga's numbers are still greater. First of all he speaks about 1440 temples which were built in various provinces. Further on, it is said that Kumārapāla had in Vāgbhatapura near Śatruñjaya an image of Paśvanātha erected in a temple, Tribhuvanpālavihāra, so named in honour of his father. Then, the thirty-two 'atonement' temples are also mentioned, as also the Kumāravihāra whose building, however, is not described. Finally, four more temples are mentioned (1) the Mūsakavihāra which was built at Anhilvād in order to atone for the death of a mouse which died out of despair

because Kumārapāla had deprived it of its prize on his flight from Jayasimha, (2) the Karambavihāra which was built in Anhilvād in honour of an unknown woman who had fed Kumārapāla with a rice dish on his flight, (3) the Diksāvihāra, the restoration of an old temple in Sāligavasahikā at Cambay, where Hemacandra was consecrated to be a monk and, (4) the Jholikāvihāra, the Cradle-temple, which Kumārapāla ordered to be built in Dhandhūka at the place of Hemacandra's birth<sup>87</sup>. Even if we do not accept all particulars in these statements as true, yet they prove that Kumārapāla's edifices were not confined to only Anhilvād and Devapattana. The modern tradition has also preserved reminiscences of the same. On the Sātruñjaya and the Gīrnār there are still exhibited Kumāravihāras which, however, have been much restored and contain none of the old inscriptions. In Cambay and Dhandhūka they believe they know at least the sites where Kumārapāla's edifices once stood.

Despite these extensive activities in the service of the Jaina-doctrine and to the advantage of the Jainas, Kumārapāla did not completely forget the old cult of his family. In the *Dvyāś'raya*, Hemacandra himself states about the restoration of the temple of Śivakēdāranātha and of the Śiva-Somanātha following the proclamation of the law of Protection, and also about the building of a Kumāresvara in Anhilvād, which took place at a still later time, after the construction of the Kumāravihāras in Anhilvād and in Devapattana. The reasons behind the erection of the Kumāresvara are very peculiar. Mahādeva, says Hemacandra, appeared himself to Kumārapāla in a dream, announced to him that he was satisfied with his services and expressed his desire to reside in Anhilvād. From these facts one can conclude that Kumārapāla, despite all his devotion to Hemacandra and despite his adoption of the Jaina faith, never totally denied help to the Śivaites. He might have forced them to give up their bloody sacrifices but he permitted the temple-priests and the ascetics to draw their allowances from the royal treasury. There must have been times when he again drew nearer to the Śivaitic faith and worshipped Śiva as well as Jina. Such wavering and such mixing of faiths is not unusual in India and such things have happened in old times to other kings also, who had attached themselves to heterodox sects, as, for example, Harsavardhana, the well-known king of Thanesar and Kanauj. This latter king had paid his respects, as Hiuen Tsiang states to have observed with his very eyes, to the Buddhists, to the Brāhmins and to the Jainas. The causes of these phenomena are sufficiently clear. At the court there were always, besides the heterodox parties, the orthodox ones whose influence over the princes remained very powerful. Certainly this must have been the case with Anhilvād, for according to the *Prabandhas*, the Jaina Vāgbhata was in no way the only minister of Kumārapāla. Along with him there also was a Mantrin, Kapardin, who is not said to have been a Jaina. In the same way, there appears to have been a Śaiva teacher, Devabodhi by name, who is supposed to have been a spiritual adviser to Kumārapāla (see pp. 39, 51) even after his conversion. In the colophon of a manuscript of V S 1218 it is mentioned that Mahāmātya Yasodhavalā was the first minister, probably the same-named Parmāra-Prince of Candrāvati, appointed by Kumārapāla himself<sup>88</sup>. The influence of the orthodox party was naturally strengthened by the old habits of the king and his earlier association with Śivaitic ascetics. Added to this, finally, is the tendency of Indian character, that of reconciling sharp contradictions in the religious systems by conceiving and explaining

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the same merely as various forms of the same fundamental truth. It has been shown above that in the twelfth century the Brahmanical gods of Trimūrti were identified with the Jinas and that probably Hemacandra himself made use of such an identification in the beginning of his attempts at Kumārapāla's conversion to his doctrine. It was then quite natural that his convert afterwards worshipped Śiva along with Jina. We may perhaps also assume that Hemacandra fully concurred in that, for otherwise he could have hardly recorded so impartially the Śivaite temples built by his patron and pupil. However that might have been, Hemacandra would not have offered any serious opposition to Kumārapāla's Śivaite tendencies and, in order not to jeopardise all his work, he might have connived at it, rather like a clever missionary. These assumptions are strengthened by the fact that Kumārapāla is said to have been a Śivaite in the above-mentioned inscription in Devapattana in honour of Bhāva-Brhaspati, which was written in Valabhi-Samvat 850 or Vikrama-Samvat 1225, only 4 years after his death. Naturally there is in it no talk of the conversion of the king to Jainism. On the contrary, grants are described which he made to Brhaspati and other Śaivas and he is further called *Māhes'varanrpaṇi*, "the leader of the kings of the Śaiva faith", in line 50. Then there were indeed cases which gave an opportunity to the Śaiva-priests to court him as one belonging to their fold, just as there were facts which allowed the Jainas to give him a by-name *Puramārḥata*. A perfectly complete victory Hemacandra could not therefore attain, but he certainly succeeded as much as any other heterodox teacher has done with a royal proselyte. It is true that he could not wholly lure Kumārapāla away from Śaivism. But he succeeded in inducing him to constantly observe the most important Jaina-vows, and in exerting a great influence over the government. Gujarat did not, of course, become a Jaina-Empire in the sense that the majority of its population were converted to Jainism. A very significant spread of Jainism was already precluded by the fact that the dogmas of this faith forbade many of the most useful occupations, e.g. agriculture. But the edicts against the killing of animals, against spirituous drink, and against betting and playing at stakes were successfully enforced and thus some of the most important tenets of Jainism came to be rooted into the life of every one.

## CHAPTER VIII

### Hemacandra's literary works after Kumārapāla's Conversion

Even during the period of his greatest power, when the friendship with Kumārapāla claimed much of him, Hemacandra remained true to his literary aspirations. Besides the *Yogas'āstra*, already mentioned, and an exhaustive commentary thereon, he wrote, between V S 121. and 1229, a collection of stories of the holy, already mentioned, entitled, *Trisastis'alākāpuruṣacarita*—“the Life of the sixty-three best men.” The work gives in ten *Parvas* the legends of the twenty-four Jinas, the twelve Cakravartins or emperors of India, the nine Vāsudevas, the nine Baladevas and the nine Viśnudevīs or enemies of the nine incarnations of Viṣṇu. An appendix, the *Paris'istaparvan* or *Sthavīrāvalīcarita*, deals with the story of Daśapūvins, the oldest teachers of the Jaina-religion from Jambūsvāmin upto Vajrasvāmin, who still knew the old canonical manuals, called the *Pūra*. The work is written almost wholly in heroic metre and is called by the author a *Mahākāvya* or great epic. Its extent is very great, so great that it justifies in a certain degree its proud claim of comparison with the *Mahābhārata*, as hinted by the division into *Parvas*. According to Jinamandana, it contains 36,000 Anuṣṭubh ślokaś<sup>34</sup>. Its composition falls later than that of the *Yogas'āstra*, for it is not quoted in the Commentary on the latter. On the other hand, in the notes on III, 131 the story of the teacher Sthūlabhadra is related in almost identical terms as in the *Paris'istaparvan* VIII, 2-197 and IX, 55-111a. Only the introductory verses are different and here and there some different readings are found which, however, seldom make any difference in sense. It is therefore evident that the particular passages from the commentary on the *Yogas'āstra* have been taken over in the *Paris'istaparvan*. On the other hand, the *Trisastis'alākāpuruṣacarita* was written earlier than the *Dvyāś'rayakāvya* or, at least, earlier than the last five *sargas* of the latter, if we believe Merutunga's statement that this poem originally glorified only the victories of Jayasūmha-Siddharāja, and if we accept that the concluding portion was a later addition (p 19). The *Dvyāś'rayakāvya* describes the story of Kumārapāla a little further than does the *Mahāvīracarita*. For, it mentions, as already shown on p 33, the magnificent temple of Pārśvanātha at Devapattana. The *Mahāvīracarita* is silent as to this one but it describes in minute details the circumstances which caused the somewhat earlier building of the Kumāravihāra in Aṇḍhivād. Further, the Sanskrit *Dvyāś'raya* was followed by

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the Prakrit *Dvājās'raya* or *Kumaravālacanīya*, a very small work entirely dedicated to Kumārapāla and highly praising his piety and devotion to the Jina but at the same time illustrating the rules of the Prakrit-Grammar.<sup>80</sup> The commentary on the *Abhidhānacintāmani* was probably the last of the scholarly works of this last period. The fact that in this commentary both the *Yogas'āstra* and the *Trisastis'alākāpuras'acanta* are cited, proves not only that it belongs to the period after V. S. 1216 but also that it was written during the last years of the author's life. That this was his last work is also proved by another fact. Closely related with the *Abhidhānacintāmani*, the Lexicon of Synonyms, is the *Anekārthakośa*, that of the Homonyms, which supplements the former.<sup>81</sup> Besides, there also exists a commentary on this, the *Anekārthakavaiākānakaumudī*. This is, however, not the work of Hemacandra himself, but of his pupil Mahendra who wrote it in his master's name after the death of the latter. It is said in the *Pras'asti* given at the end of this work.<sup>82</sup>

(1) "By the renowned Mahendrasūri, the ever truly devoted pupil of the renowned Hemasūri, is this commentary written in the name of his (master) "

(2) "Where is to be found in an unlucky fellow like me such skill in exposition (as is required) for the book of the well-known master Hemacandra, one with the treasures of perfection (*samyaktva*) and knowledge, endowed with endless advantages? If, nevertheless, I have expounded it, it is no wonder, for I repeat the (oral) explanations of him (that man) who lives constantly in may heart "

The concluding words indicate that at the time when Mahendra wrote, Hemacandra was dead and that Mahendra, out of piety for the deceased, wrote down his oral explanations and published them in his name. It also appears that Hemacandra might have thought of himself commenting on the second part of his *Kośa*, but before he could carry out his plan, he was overpowered by death. It may therefore be supposed that the commentary on the first part was completed just before the death. It is to be repeated that (see page 37) also the *S'esākhya Nāmanūlā* can possibly belong to this last period, if this work was originally included in the commentary on the *Abhidhānacintāmani*. This statement may be corroborated by similar occurrences in the commentary on the *Yogas'āstra* which contains metrical supplements to the text (Note 80). Certainty about this point can, however, be arrived at only if the old palm-leaf MSS of the commentary on the *Kośa* be carefully investigated. As regards the date of the work about Jaina dialectics mentioned as *Pramānamamānsā* in the *Prabhāvakahacaritra*, but as *Syādvādamamānsā* in the MSS,<sup>83</sup> I can say nothing definite. As, however, it is not mentioned in the commentary on the *Yogas'āstra*, it also belongs, perhaps, to the works of the period of V. S. 1216-1229. With this, the list of Hemacandra's works is exhausted. The author of the *Prabhāvakahacaritra* says, in fact, "simple-minded people like him" (Note 74) do not know all the works of the great master, and Rājasekhara boldly believes that Hemacandra wrote 30,000,000 ślokas. Though this statement is often repeated in the *Paṭṭāvalis* or *Guruvālis*, it is obviously an absurd exaggeration. As yet there has been found no reason to ascribe more books to Hemacandra than the ones mentioned here, and these contain about 100,000 ślokas. In this respect, it is particularly important to

remember that even a thorough examination into the old libraries of Cambay, Jesalmir and Anhilvād has not as yet given rise to a claim of any more books than those mentioned in the list of the *Prabhāvakacaritra*

Hemacandra's educational work seems to have been no less extended than his literary activities. His oldest and most prominent pupil was the above-mentioned (p. 19) one-eyed Rāmacandra. The *Prabandhas* state about him that he had written one hundred works. Recently two dramas by this man have been discovered, viz. *Raghunāṭya*, and *Nubhayabhīma*. In the signature to the latter drama, Rāmacandra qualifies himself as a *śataprabandhakārī*, "author of hundred works." Besides him, the *Prabandhas* name at various places Gunacandra, Yasascandra, Bālacandra and Udayacandra, the last of whom is also mentioned in the Colophon of the Commentary on the *Brhadārṇya* of the Grammar (Note 34). The *Prasasti* of the Commentary on the *Anekārthakośa* proves, as has been already shown, the existence of a sixth pupil, Mahendra by name, and the *Kumārāṇihārāṇas'asti* informs us of a seventh one, named Vaidhamanagaṇin. The modern tradition is naturally not satisfied with such a modest number. Even at present they exhibit in Anhilvād a stone, stained with ink, upon which Hemacandra's *āsana* is supposed to have been placed. One hundred pupils, so say the Jains, surrounded him daily and wrote down the works which their *Guru* dictated to them.

## CHAPTER IX

### Stories about the intercourse between Hemacandra and Kumārapāla, and about their end

Besides the details, already mentioned, about Hemacandra's activity after Kumārapāla's conversion, the *Prabandhas* contain still many more stories which describe his intercourse with the king and a few other events. Although most of these anecdotes are historically worthless, they may however be briefly quoted for the sake of the completeness of our work. As may be expected, their number is the smallest in the *Prabhāvākāraṇtra*. This work gives only five. Merutunga, on the other hand, gives sixteen. To them Rājasekhara adds a few more. Jinamaṇḍana offers, again, something more and gives more artistic recensions by others, in which the old material is worked up in a better way. According to their contents, they divide themselves into two main groups, viz., (1) those that magnify Hemacandra's knowledge and character, and (2) those that prove Kumārapāla's devotion to his teacher and affection for Jainism.

As regards Hemacandra, first of all, a large number of verses is cited which he is supposed to have composed on various occasions. Merutunga makes him sing Kumārapāla's praise when the latter gave up the confiscation of the property of the childless merchant. His statement, however, does not agree with that of the *Prabhāvākāraṇtra*. In this latter work, it is assumed that the verse, which Merutunga ascribes to the "Scholar", belongs to Hemacandra, while the one declared by Merutunga as Hemacandra's composition, does not at all occur. Then, Merutunga quotes a *śloka*, which praises Āmrabhata, the second son of his patron Udayana, on account of his completing the temple of Suvrata in Broach, as well as a song in praise of this Tirthamkara. In this case the *Prabhāvākāraṇtra* also has the first verse. Besides, in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* there occurs still a *Prakṛit-Dandaka* which Hemacandra is supposed to have composed in Śātruṅjaya, and in Apabhramśa hemistich, the contents of which are not proper for a monk as they refer to a dancing girl. Jinamaṇḍana has a much greater number, most of which may be found in his report of Kumārapāla's fulfilment of the twelve Jain vows.<sup>95</sup>



More interesting than these probably throughout apocryphal proofs of Hemacandra's dexterity in poetry, is a legend which is to show how cleverly he treated the Brāhmin priests who wanted to compel the king to break his vow Rājasekhara, who is the earliest to tell us this legend, describes it as follows "A short time after Kumārapāla had enforced the protection of living animals, there began the bright half of the month Āśvina Thereupon, the priests of Kunteśvarī and of other goddesses proclaimed to the king 'Lord, on the seventh day the king must, according to the custom of his ancestors, offer to the goddesses seven hundred goats and seven buffalos On the eighth day eight hundred goats and eight buffalos and on the ninth day nine hundred goats and nine buffalos' After the king had heard that, he went to Hemacandra and informed him of the matter The great teacher whispered something in his ears. The king then arose and promised to pay the priests what was their due. By night the animals were led into the temple of the goddess, the doors were carefully locked and trustworthy Rajputs were posted as guards. The next morning, the king arrived and ordered to open the doors of the temple In the middle they saw the animals lying down and chewing the cud, refreshed by the repose in the wind-sheltered place Thereupon said the king 'Priests, these animals I had offered to the goddesses If they had any liking for the animals, they could have consumed them The animals, however, are quite safe. Apparently, therefore, the goddesses have no liking for flesh. But *you* love it Hence keep absolute quiet I will not permit the killing of living animals' The Priests hung their heads down The goats were released The king, however, had the food-offering brought to the goddesses, worth the value of the goats "

The story, which Jinamandana relates in a slightly shorter form, reminds us in a certain way of the Biblical story of Elijah and the priests of Baal However, one can hardly take it as an adaptation of the latter It probably arose independently. Even if this story be an invention, it is certainly a good invention in as much as it properly describes the difficulties, which Kumārapāla had to face upon his conversion, and the methods of his spiritual counsel to remove them from his path It is noteworthy that according to this legend the cult of Kunteśvarī was not abolished but was transformed from a bloody to a bloodless cult

Two other stories by Merutunga show how Hemacandra behaved towards his enemies The first one tells us that the mighty Śiva-priest Brhaspati once occasioned some inconvenience regarding the Kumāravihāra in Devapattana Immediately he lost his job because of Hemacandra's disfavour. Thereupon he came to Anhilvād, learnt the *Ṣoḍhaś'rayaka* and served the Jama-monk An entreaty-verse pacified the latter at last and Brhaspati was again appointed as the guardian of the Śaiva-foundations. Just as harsh, but also equally as forgiving, Hemacandra showed himself towards an old enemy, Vāmadeva or Vāmarāśi, who had been his rival during Jayasimha's reign and who chaffed at him with a malicious satirical verse when Hemacandra gained his high position As a punishment he opprobriously ordered his servants to drive Vāmarāśi out of his house with their lance-shafts He also sentenced him to the *aś'astra-vaulha*, "the punishment of a bloodless death," which consisted of the withdrawal of his *ritti*, his salary from the royal treasury. Vāmarāśi then subsisted on scattered grains which he gleaned, and stood often

before the school of his enemy. As Ānā and other princes were one day learning the *Yogasāstra* there, Vāmaśāśi praised this work in a verse "in all sincerity." Hemacandra was therefore reconciled and granted him a *ṛtti*, double as large as the earlier one had been." The story about Brhaspati probably presents the relationship of this man to Hemacandra in a more proper light than the legend, given above (p. 29), according to which the Śaiva monk and the Jaina monk were good friends.

By far the greatest number of the legends given in the *Prabandhas* describes, however, Hemacandra's supernatural powers, his gift of prophecy, his knowledge of the remotest past, his hold over evil spirits and the Brahmanic deities hostile to Jainism. Already in the *Prabhāvakacarita*, a prophecy of Hemacandra's is mentioned, which was literally fulfilled. The king of Kalyāṇa-kataka, it is said, who had received information from his spies that Kumārapāla had become a Jaina and was therefore powerless, gathered a big army with a view to conquering Gujarat. Full of anxiety, Kumārapāla went to Hemacandra and inquired whether he would be defeated by this enemy. Hemacandra consoled him by saying that the protecting deities of the Jaina-doctrine were keeping watch over Gujarat, and that the enemy would die on the seventh day. In reality, the spies brought Kumārapāla soon afterwards the news that the prophecy had come true. Both Merutunga and Jinamandana also have this story. In their version the hostile king is, however, Karna, the ruler of Dāhala or Tivar in the Central Provinces. They also state how he died, and describe that he was asleep on his elephant during a nocturnal march, when his golden necklace got caught in a banyan tree, and he was strangled to death. Karna of Dāhala ruled about hundred years before Kumārapāla and was, as Merutunga rightly points out elsewhere, a contemporary of Bhimadeva I.<sup>98</sup>

A second proof of his prophetic gift, according to Merutunga, Hemacandra furnished when he described his story of a previous birth to the king Rājasekhara and Jinamandana give the same *in extenso* and add thereto that Hemacandra himself did not describe it but that he made Vidyadevis reveal themselves in Siddhapura for the purpose. The king came to know thereby the cause of his enmity with Jayasimha and was, as Jinamandana says, so very much surprised at the wisdom of his teacher that he conferred upon him the title of *Kalikālasarvañña*, "the omniscient of the *Kali-yuga*."<sup>99</sup> It is not at all improbable that Hemacandra claimed to have told the king about his fate in the previous life, as the Jaina-monks have often done so in similar circumstances. It is another question whether the version before us really reflects the *Pūrvavṛttānta* described by Hemacandra.

Absolutely absurd but characteristic of the gradual development of the legends is the third story related by Jinamandana, attributing to Hemacandra the gift of clairvoyance. Once, so the story goes, Hemacandra was sitting with the king and the Śaiva-ascetic Devabodhi and was explaining the holy scriptures. Suddenly he stopped and screamed a cry of woe. Devabodhi rubbed his hands and said "That does not matter a bit!" Then the devotional lesson was resumed. When Hemacandra had finished it, Kumārapāla asked him what had been the matter with him and Devabodhi. Thereupon the monk replied. "O King, I saw that in the temple of Candraprabha in Devapattana

a rat dragged away the wick of a lamp and consequently a conflagration broke out. Devabodhi extinguished it when he rubbed his hands." Kumārapāla sent, thereupon, messengers to Devapattana and found that Hemacandra's statement had been correct.<sup>100</sup>

The *Prabhāvalacaritra* also supplies us with an instance of Hemacandra's magic powers. It relates, that Āmrabhata came into conflict with Saindhavi Devī and Yoginis as he had the Temple of Suvrata in Broach restored. He was consequently punished with illness by them. His mother invoked the help of Hemacandra who went to Broach with his pupil Yaśaścandra, made the Devī surrender by magic powers, and healed Āmrabhata. Slightly different recensions of this anecdote are found in Merutunga and in Jinamandana.<sup>101</sup>

Both these latter as well as Rājasekhara also relate that Hemacandra cured Kumārapāla of leprosy. According to Merutunga, this disease attacked the king as a result of a curse which the pious mother of the king Lakṣa of Kach had given to the successors of Mūlarāja, the conqueror of her son. By the power of his *Yoga*, Hemacandra cured the king. According to Rājasekhara, Kunteśvari Devī, the family goddess of the Caulukyās, took revenge for the prohibition of her sacrifices (p. 52) by revealing herself to Kumārapāla and striking him on the head with the trident. As a result, he became leprous. He called his minister Udayana to him and told him his tale of woe. On Udayana's advice, Hemacandra was requested to help, who cured the disease with the water consecrated with magical incantations. Jinamandana gives enlarged recensions of both the stories and makes the miracle doubly worked.<sup>102</sup>

Still more phantastic are the two stories which are related by Jinamandana alone. The first of them is Kumārapāla had taken a pledge not to quit his capital during the rainy season, in order to fulfil the sixth vow of the Jainas. Meanwhile, he received information from his spies that the Śaka Prince of Garjana, that is, the Muhammadan Sultan of Gazni, had made preparations to wage a war against Gujarat precisely during that rainy season. Kumārapāla was greatly perplexed. If he wanted to keep his vow, he could not defend his land. If, on the other hand, he would fulfil his royal obligations, he must become untrue to the Jain faith. In this dilemma he approached Hemacandra who reassured him at once and promised help. Hemacandra then sat down in the posture of 'lotus-seat' (*padmāsana*) and gave himself up into deep meditation. After a while, there came a palanquin flying through the air, in which lay a sleeping man. This sleeper was the Prince of Garjana whom Hemacandra had dragged in there by the power of his *Yoga*-magic. He was released only after he had promised to preserve peace with Gujarat and to command in his kingdom the protection of all living beings during six months. The second story ascribes a still greater power to Hemacandra. Once he had a quarrel with Devabodhi as to whether it was a full-moon day or a new-moon day. He himself had voted for the former which was, however, wrong, he was therefore scoffed at by Devabodhi. Despite this, Hemacandra declared that he had not been wrong but asserted that the evening would prove the correctness of his view. When the sun set in, Kumārapāla with Devabodhi and his barons climbed on the top-room of his palace in order to see if the moon would rise and as a matter of precaution he also sent messengers

to the east on a swift dromedary. The full moon *did* really rise in the east, shone forth the whole night and the next morning set in the west' The royal messengers who had ridden far into the land, told the same story on their return. It was therefore no illusion that might have deceived the king's eyes, but a real miracle that Hemacandra worked with the help of a ministering godling who had given him a *suldhacakra*.<sup>103</sup>

The number of the legends of the second group is much smaller and almost all of them are met with already in the *Prabhāvakacarita*. The first story, which is to show the attachment of the king to Hemacandra, relates about an amazing transformation of the ordinary palm trees of the royal garden into Śrītāla-trees. Once, it has been said, on account of copying the numerous works of Hemacandra, the palm-leaves were exhausted and there was no hope of getting a new stock imported from abroad. Kumārapāla was very much distressed at the thought of his teacher's work being interrupted. He went into his garden where many ordinary palm trees stood, worshipped them with fragrant substances and flowers, placed round their trunks golden wreaths adorned with pearls and rubies and prayed that they might be transformed into Śrītāla-trees. The next morning the gardeners announced that the king's wish had been fulfilled. The messengers who brought the happy news were richly rewarded, and the scribes worked further with greater zeal. This fable is quite similarly related by Jinamandana. He only commits an anachronism when he assumes that the scribes would have managed with paper which, however, the king did not think proper. As the close scrutiny of the old Jaina-Libraries has brought out, the use of paper was only introduced to Gujarat one hundred and twenty years later after the conquest of the land by the Muhammadans.<sup>104</sup>

A second and still greater proof of his devotion was furnished by Kumārapāla to his teacher by presenting his empire to Hemacandra. According to the *Prabhāvakacarita* this happened on the occasion of explaining a Gāthā which makes complete surrender a duty to the believer. Hemacandra refused, it is said, to accept the gift by arguing that as an ascetic he must be free from all possessions and from all desires. In spite of it, the king did not want to give in. Thereupon the minister intervened and proposed that Kumārapāla should remain the king but should fulfil the royal duties only with the approval of his *guru*. The solution was accepted and Hemacandra wrote the *Yogasāstra* with a view to instructing Kumārapāla as to how he should, as a believing king, behave himself.<sup>105</sup>

Very many particular but probably apocryphal accounts about Kumārapāla's manifestations of his faith in the Jina are given by Jinamandana. There, he relates that the king had, after his conversion, given away to the Brāhmins all the images of Mahesvara and other gods which his forefathers had worshipped, and that he only tolerated the statues of the Jinas in his palace.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, in his long report of the taking of the twelve vows in the presence of Hemacandra, he describes in detail how the king fulfilled each of them and what *Burūdas* or 'titles of honour' he received for the same. Amongst the laws, which the observance of the Jaina precepts is said to have caused, the following deserve special mention. In order to fulfil the seventh vow, which forbids unnecessary force and occupations connected therewith, the king renounced the

revenues which he received from charcoal-burning, from the forest, from the tax on bullock-carts kept for hire etc, and he ordered to destroy the register about these things. The contents of the twelfth vow made him remit taxes to the amount of 12 lacs which the "faithful" (*śrāddhas*) paid. For the same reason, he granted money to needy Jains and had houses (*satrāgāras*) built where food was distributed to beggars. As regards his title of honour, Hemacandra called him *Śuranāgatatātā*, "Protector of the supplicants for help", for his fulfilment of the first vow, *Yudhisṭhira* for the fulfilment of the second, and *Brahmarṣi* for that of the fourth.<sup>107</sup>

Moreover, we find in all the *Prabandhas* the statement that Kumārapāla undertook one or several pilgrimages to the Jain shrines of Gujarat in company with Hemacandra. According to the *Prabhāvakacarita*, only one took place quite at the end of his reign. On this one pilgrimage he visited Śatruñjaya and Gīrnar. He did not, however, mount the latter hill himself, but worshipped Neminātha at the foot of it. He commissioned his minister Vāgbhata to construct a better road up the rock. Merutunga's *Tirthayātrāprabandha* gives a very similar account. It connects with it, however, the anecdote of the planned attack by the king Dāhala, and makes Kumārapāla, as the leader of the Jain congregation (*Samghādhipati*), enter Śatruñjaya via Dhandhuka. In the first-named city, so it is said, the "Cradle-vihāra" (p. 46) was built on this occasion. Merutunga also appears to place the pilgrimage at the end of Kumārapāla's reign. Rājasekhara, on the other hand, speaks of two pilgrimages: one to Kāthiāvād and the other to Stambhapura or Cambay, which latter city the king is said to have presented to Jina Pārśvanātha. Finally, Jinamandana agrees with Merutunga, but declares in his general survey of Kumārapāla's work that the king consecrated himself by seven pilgrimages, and that on the occasion of the first one, he worshipped the Jina with nine jewels which were worth nine lacs.<sup>108</sup> Now, even if there be no confirmation of these statements in documents of Kumārapāla's time, one may nevertheless believe the *Prabandhas* when they say that the king actually visited Śatruñjaya and Gīrnar towards the end of his reign. The silence of the *Dryās'rayakārya* and of the *Mahāvīracarita* on this point has no great significance, for both these works were composed, as shown above, some time before the end of Kumārapāla's reign. On the other hand, the rare, complete agreement of both the oldest *Prabandhas* is a weighty argument in favour of the general correctness of their statement, and a still more weighty one for the internal probability of the same. It is precisely in their last years that the Indian princes make pilgrimages their habit and it is easy to understand that Kumārapāla, who had himself built shrines in various localities of the peninsula of Kāthiāvād, felt it incumbent on him to pay a visit to them. On the contrary, it is extremely questionable whether the details of this pilgrimage are correctly described. For, one can hardly believe that if Kumārapāla visited Gīrnar, he should have left unvisited Devapattana which is not very far from Gīrnar and where his temples of Pārśvanātha and Somanātha stood. The statements about his visit to Cambay and about the seven pilgrimages can have, of course, little claim to be credible as they are to be found only in later works.

As to Hemacandra's end, the *Prabhāvakacarita* gives no details. It only says that he died in Vikrama-Samvat 1229. Merutunga gives some more details.

According to his account, Hemacandra predicted that he would die at the end of his 84th year, and when he had reached that age, he began the last fast, customary among the Jaina ceremonies, which leads the monk surely to Nirvāṇa. Before his death, he prophesied to his friend, who was lamenting for him, that he (his friend) too would meet his end after six months, and admonished him, being childless, to perform the last rites for himself whilst he was still alive. After he had spoken thus, "he released the breath of life through the tenth opening of the body." Kumārapāla had his corpse burned and, as he considered the ashes as sacred, made a sign on his forehead with the same. All the nobles of the kingdom and the citizens of Anhilvād followed his example. Merutunga adds that even now the Hemakhandā at Anhilvād is famous for that reason. It is further said that Kumarapāla passed the rest of his life in deep sorrow and after a reign of 31 years died, on the predicted day, "the death of Meditation." The latter form of expression appears to indicate that he, too, chose, by fast, the death of the wise man.

Jinamandana repeats Merutunga's account in so far as it concerns Hemacandra, but he adds a few details as regards his last years. He states that these were embittered by a schism amongst his pupils. Kumarapāla, being childless and an aged man, was distressed as to the selection of a successor and was in doubt whether to appoint Ajayapāla, his brother's son who had the first claim according to the custom, or the son of his daughter, Pratāpamalla, as his heir. Hemacandra had declared himself in favour of the latter, for he was beloved by the people and firm in faith, whereas Ajayapāla was inclined to evil passions, favoured the Brahmīns and would surely put aside the laws made by his uncle. In spite of this, Bālacandra is said to have formed an intimate friendship with Ajayapāla against the wish of his teacher and against the interests of his faith. Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, on the other hand, remained true to their teacher. Jinamandana describes Kumārapāla's end somewhat differently from Merutunga. According to his account, Kumārapāla was poisoned by Ajayapāla after the former had chosen Pratāpamalla as his successor, following Hemacandra's advice. When Kumālapāla felt the effect of the poison, he sent for a shell in his treasury, which could chase away poison. Ajayapāla had already had this removed. When the king heard this, he prepared for death according to Jaina rites and died, after having vowed to decline all food. Ajayapāla then ascended the throne, being supported by the Brahmin party.<sup>109</sup>

From these accounts we can take with certainty only this much that Hemacandra died in V S 1229 shortly before Kumarapāla. The assertion that during the last years of his life he became involved in the intrigues regarding the successor to the throne and that he attempted to exclude the rightful heir in the interests of the Jaina faith is, *ipso facto*, not improbable. In favour of this assertion, it may be argued that, according to all the sources there was a strong reaction against Jainism after his death, and that Hemacandra's and Kumārapāla's old friends, Rāmacandra and Ānirabhatta (Udayana's son) were particularly persecuted by the new king. Similarly, the story of Pratāpamalla's being selected as successor to the throne and of Kumārapāla's being poisoned is by no means incredible. However, before we declare it to be historical with any certainty, it will be necessary to have the story confirmed by older and more reliable sources than Jinamandana's compilation.



## NOTES

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1 The life of Hemacandra forms the XXII and last *Sṅga* of the *Pūrvanacaritarohanagiri* or *Prabhāvakacurita*, and a few notes about him also occur in the XXI *Sṅga*. This work, a continuation of Hemacandra's *Parivṛttoparvan* to the *Trisastis'alāhāpurusacarita*, was compiled by Prabhācandrasūri Candhaprabha's successor, and was corrected by Pradyumnasūri, the pupil of Kanakaprabhasūri, who on his part was a pupil of the grammarian Devānanda. Verse 16 of the Introduction is as follows

श्रीदेवानन्दशैक्षश्रीकनकप्रमशिष्यराट् ।  
श्रीप्रद्युम्नप्रभुर्जीवाङ्मन्थस्वास्व विभुद्विकृत् ॥

"Victory to the lord Śrī Pradyumna who completely purified this work (from errors)—he, the king among the pupils of Śrī Kanakrabha, the pupil of Śrī Devānanda "

Quite the same has been said in the verses which stand at the end of each of the *Sṅgas*. At the end of the XXII *Sṅga*, the following verse occurs

श्रीचन्द्रप्रभसूरिपद्मसरसीहसप्रभ श्रीप्रभा-  
चन्द्र सूरिनेन चेतसि कृते श्रीरामलक्ष्मीभुवा ।  
श्रीपूर्वर्विचरित्रतोहणमिरौ श्रीहेमचन्द्र प्राया[श्रीहेमचन्द्रप्रभो ]  
श्रीप्रद्युम्नमुनीन्दुना विवादित श्रमो द्विकद्विप्रम[ ] ॥

"On the throne of Śrī-Candraprabhasūri (there sits), like a swan in a lake, Sūri Prabhācandra. In the biography of the well-known *Ris* of old—a biography which is comparable to the Rohana mountain—conceived by this (Prabhācandra) son of Śrī Rāma and Lakṣmī, (thus ends) the twenty second peak (*Sṅga*) in the form of biographical sketch of Śrī Hemacandra, which is purified by Śrī-Pradyumna, the moon among the monks "

Several other verses, too, at the end of *Sṅgas* I, V, VII, XI, XIII, XV, XVII, XIX and XXI are dedicated to the praise of Pradyumna. The third from the last of these is important, as it contains a statement which enables us to determine Pradyumna's time at least approximately. This verse says.

श्रीदेवानन्दसूरिर्विशत मुदमसौ लक्षणाद्येन हेमा-  
दुन्दुभ्यामग्राह्येतिर्विहितमभिवाचं सिद्धसास्वताम्ब[ ३ ] ।



शाब्द शास्त्रं यदीयान्वयिकनकमिस्थानकल्पदुमश्च  
श्रीमान्प्रद्युम्नसूरीविशदयति गिर न पदार्थं प्रदाता ॥

"May joy be caused to you by Sūrisū Devānanda, through whom, for the sake of the ignorant, a new grammar, called Siddha-Sārasvata, was written—taken from the manual of Hemacandra—and by the successor of his pupil Kanakaprabha—namely Śrī Pradyumnasūri whom we may compare to a tree of paradise—he, the purifier of word-forms and of the meaning, purifies our speech

From this verse, of the second half of which I have merely given the general sense, without paying attention to the play of words, we see that Devānanda wrote a manual of grammar entitled *Siddha-Sārasvata*, which was in extract from Hemacandra's works. As Hemacandra calls his grammar *Siddha-Hemacandra*, and as this title means "the manual written by Hemacandra in honour of King Jayasinha-Siddharāja", it seems obvious that we may interpret the name of Devānanda's work in a similar way, and explain it by "the Sārasvata (i.e. the work completed by the grace of the goddess Sarasvatī) written in honour of King Siddharāja". If this explanation be correct—for we must confess that another explanation is, by all means possible, then Devānanda would have been a contemporary of Hemacandra's and would have written under Jayasinha-Siddharāja (who died Vikrama-Samvat 1199, Kārttika sudi 3 or 1142 2 A D). In that case the literary activity of Pradyumna Sūri, the pupil of his pupil, would fall within the first and second half of the 13th Century approximately. However, we are saved from the necessity of building upon so uncertain a foundation by some very interesting informations from the *Prasasti* of the Cambay-manuscript of Balacandra's *Vaṅkamañjarī* in Dr Peterson's *Third Report* App. I pp 101-109 which gives us quite certain data for the activity of the above-named Pradyumnasūri. The first *Prasasti* (l.c. pp 101-103) is a song in praise of the author of the *Vaṅkamañjarī* and of the author of the Commentary, relates the following: The poet Āsada, born of the Bhullamālaya in a (i.e. a) Samvatsara and a son of Kātulaka who for his services in expounding Kūṭhāsas *Mahātātā*, received the title *Kanakaśāstra* <sup>the ornament of the assembly</sup> *gupta*, the ornament of the assembly of poets", from the court scholars (*rājasaṅghapāṭh*) had two sons, <sup>the elder of the</sup> *Āsada-Bala* <sup>the younger of the</sup> *Āsada* and Jatasinhā by his wife Jātulladevī. When the first one died, he mourned deeply. Awakened by a Śaṅkha named Abhayadeva, he wrote the *Vaṅkamañjarī* in V S 1268 (Peterson's *First Report*, App. I p 56) or 1211-12 A D (verse 12). His second son Jatasinhā later induced the Genu-Bhacandra to write a commentary on his father's work (verse 13). The latter, called in the assistance of three men, namely Vijayasenasūri from Nagendragarha, Padmasūri from Bhūḍgaecha (verse 14) and Pradyumnasūri who was the pupil of Kanakaprabhasūri—the moon which adorned the heaven of Devānanda's school. We find here the same order: Devānanda, Kanakaprabha and Pradyumna as in the *Prabhanakacarita*, and it is therefore certain that the corrector of the last-named was Balacandra's assistant. The last verse of the 2nd *Prasasti*, a song in praise of the noble donor of the Cambay MS (l.c. p 109, verse 38) teaches us that the MS was completed on the 8th day of the dark half of the month Kārttika, in the year 1322 (of the Vikrama-erā) on a Monday or, according to Dr. Schinasi's calculation, on the 2nd November 1265, which actually was a Monday. Immediately afterwards there is the announcement that this *Prasasti* was corrected by the venerable Śrī Pradyumnasūri (*prasastih samāḍitā śrīśubhamastu||pūjyasūri-Pradyumnasūribhūḥ prasastih samāḍitā*). This has gained for us a definite date for Pradyumna's activity. It may be added moreover, that he also helped with the production of a third work of which we may assert with great probability that it belongs to the middle of the 13th century at the latest. Devāsūri says in the Introduction to his *Sāntināthacarita* (Peterson, *First Report*, 1882-83, p. 60 App. pp 4-6) that his poem is a revision of a Prākṛit work of the same name by Devacandrasūri (verse 13). Then he praises the pupil of the latter, Hemacandra, who converted a king [Kumārapāla] (Verses 14-15). Then (verse 16) he pays his homage to Devānanda, author of the *Siddha-Sārasvata* Grammar, and relates (verse 17) that Pradyumna, prince amongst the pupils of Kanakaprabha, Devānanda's pupil, corrected his work. Verse 17 is so similar to the above-quoted verse of the *Prabhanakacarita* XVII, 329, that it is safe to ascribe it to the same author, Pradyumnasūri. The age of the *Sāntināthacarita* is approximately determined by the fact that the Cambay MS of the

same was written in the Sainvat, i.e. in all probability Vikrama-Samvat 1338 or 1282-83 A.D. The era cannot be determined, in this case, with absolute certainty as no details are available. The fact that the Jains almost always use the Vikrama-era, is a point in favour of the theory that this era is meant.

These results of the investigation of Pradyumna's period allow us to assert safely that the *Prabhāvakacaritra* belongs to the 13th century, and make it probable that the date of its compilation is not far removed from 1250 A.D. It is therefore the oldest source for the life of Hemacandra. It is all the more essential to emphasize this and to explain it fully as my honoured friend Rāo Bahādur S. P. Pandit places this work at a much later period. He opines in his Introduction to the *Gandavyāho*, p. CXLIX that it was written after Rājasekhara's *Prabandhakosa* (see Note 3) and that Rājasekhara is mentioned in the *Prabhāvakacaritra*, XI, 1. However, the verse in question, in its correct form, reads:—

वप्पभट्टि श्रिये श्रीमान्यदुत्तमनाम्नये ।  
खेलति स गतायासै राजेश्वरविर्बुध ॥ १ ॥

The MS. which is available to me, which like No. 12 of the *Deccan College Collection* of 1879-80 was made after the copy in Hathising's Bhandar at Alunadabad, and is full of errors, gives *galāyātad rajas' arāh*. The Deccan College MS. has not these two errors, but then at the end we read instead of *budha* the non-sensical reading *budā*, for which R. B. Pandit substitutes *mudā*. This correction is not only unnecessary, but also spoils the sense. The translation of the verse is

(May) the illustrious Bappabhatti (lead us) to prosperity, in whose life the wise (*budha*) Rājasevakavi going and coming played (a rôle), like the planet Mercury (*budha*) in the firmament.

Rājasevakavi means the same as Vakpatirāja, and therefore serves to designate the author of the *Gandavyāho*, who according to the Jaina-legend repeatedly came into contact with Bappabhatti. He is called *budha* (wise), and this word which is also a name of the planet Mercury, leads to the further comparison of the life of Bappabhatti with the firmament. The latter is very popular with Jaina poets and seemed suitable to the author as he hints that the life of the teacher was pure as the firmament to which, as the Indians say, no dirt adheres. Rāo Bahādur Pandit's hypothesis that this verse says that Bappabhatti's life-story is borrowed from the *Prabandhakosa*, is therefore wrong. An exact comparison of the date in the *Prabhāvakacaritra* with those of the *Prabandhakosa* would have shown clearly, that the account of the latter is based upon the former. Another argument brought forward by R. B. Pandit for the late date of the *Prabhāvakacaritra* is just as unsound. He says, loc. cit. p. CLIII

"The author of this work lived long after Hemacandra (A.D. 1089-1174) because in addition to writing a story of the latter's life in his work he speaks of him as having written *long ago* (*purā* XI. 11) certain works on the lives of some of the men about whom he writes himself."

This expression contains many errors. The passage which R. B. Pandit has in his mind, does not occur in the *Pr. Car.* XI. 11, but in I, 11 in the Introduction to the work. It also does not affirm that the author bases himself upon Hemacandra's works, but that he carries further the life-story of the Jaina-teachers which was begun by Hemacandra in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpurāṇacaritra*. There in the *Parivṛtastaparnvan* the narrative breaks off with the life of Vajrasvāmin. The verses in question read in my MS. as follows

कलौ युगप्रधानश्रीहेमचन्द्र [इ]ममु पुरा ।  
श्रीशालाकानृणा वृणू [वृत्त] प्रास्तवीन् नृपबोधकृत् ॥ ११ ॥  
श्रुतकेवलिनो वण्णा दसपूर्वभूतामपि ।  
भावप्रस्तामिदृत्त च हरितानि व्यधत्त स ॥ १२ ॥

ध्याततन्नाममञ्जस्य प्रसादात् प्राप्तवासन ।  
 आरोक्यक्षिव हेमार्द्रि पादाभ्या विश्वहास्यसू ॥ १३ ॥  
 श्रीवज्रानुप्रवृत्तानां शासनोन्नतिकारिणाम् ।  
 प्रभावकमुनीन्द्राणां वृत्तानि कियना[ता]मपि ॥ १४ ॥  
 बहुश्रुतमुनीशेभ्य प्राप्र[ग्र]न्धेभ्यश्च कानि[चित्] ।  
 वर्णयिष्ये कियन्त्यपि ॥ १५ ॥ विशेषकम् ॥

The gap in the last verse should probably be filled in by *anyanyā yathābuddhi*. Lastly, the expression *purā*, which R. B. Pavlit translates by 'long ago', merely means "formerly" and is indefinite. It is used just as often for events which do not much precede the time of narration, as for such as took place centuries before.

2 Besides the edition by Śāstī Rāmacandra Dīnanātha, which appeared lately in Bombay, I have two not quite complete MSS at my disposal, I O L Buhler S MSS No 295 and 296. The last verso, which contains the date is published in Dr Peterson's *Second Report*, p 87. It is to be found exactly the same in No 296.

3 I have given the date of the *Prabandhakosa* or of the *Prabandhacintāmanī* in the *Journ Bo Br Roy As Soc* Vol X p 32. Note it also Rāo Bahādur S P Pundit, *Garulavaho*, p, CXLIII. The MS which I quote further is I O L Buhler S MSS No 294. The life of Rāmacandra forms the 10th *Prabandha*.

4 The portion at the end of this work reads, in No 286 of the above mentioned collection, thus

प्रबन्धो योजित श्रीकुमारनृपतेरयम् ।  
 गद्यपद्यैर्नैव[ ] केचित् प्राप्त[क्त]ननिर्मिते ॥  
 श्रीसोमसुन्दरगुरो शिष्येण यथाश्रुतानुयारेण ।  
 श्रीजिनमण्डनगणिना आङ्गमसु १४९२ समितवत्सरे हर्षि ॥

इति श्रीसोमसुन्दरता[त्]रीश्वरश्रीजिनमण्डनोपाध्यायै श्रीकुमारपाल[प्रबन्धो] दृष्टश्रुतानुयारेण योजि[त] प्रन्थाग्र ४२०० इति श्रीकुमारपालचरित्र संपूर्णम् ॥

The first verse seems to be a mutilated Anustubh. In the first half we might read *samat-Kumāra*, and in the second half *prāktanānirmatam apī*. The date of the work was already correctly given by Col Tod, *Travels in Western India*, p 192, but the author was there erroneously called Saing Achary.

5 The following passage is found on page 99, line 9, of the above-mentioned MS —

तेन यथा सिद्धराजो रजितो ध्याकरण कृत वाहिनो जिता । यथा च कुमारपालेन सप्त प्रनिपन्न कुमारपालोऽपि यथा पञ्चाशद्वर्षदेशीयो निषणीयो[मिषिक्तो?] यथा श्रीहेमसूरयो गुरुत्वेन प्रतिपन्ना । तैरपि यथा देववाणि प्रतिपक्ष पराकृत । राजा सम्यक्त्वं ग्राहित श्रावक कृत । निर्वीराघन च सुमोच स । तत् प्रबन्धचिन्तामणिनो ज्ञेयम् । किं चर्वितचर्वणेन । नवीणा- [नाम्] तु केचन प्रवन्वा प्रकाश्यन्ते ॥

The story of Devabodhi does not occur in the *Prabandhacintāmanī*.

6 There is a MS of this rare work in the *Deccan College Collection of 1880/81*, see Kielhorn, *Report of 1880/81* Ap pp 32-34. The emperor (*cakravartin*) Ajayadeva, whom Yas'ahpāla served, might be Ajayapala the successor of Kumārāpala, who is often called Ajayadeva. The title *Cakravartin* prevents us from thinking of any small chieftain. Otherwise one might assume, — as the action of the piece is supposed to have taken place in Thārāpadra, the present-day Tharād in Small-Marvād, on the border between Rājapūtana and Gujarāt, — that Ajayadeva might have been a former Thākūr of Tharād. The mention of Thārāpadra-Tharād may perhaps be explained by the assumption that Yas'ahpāla was there civil governor of the king of Anahvād.

7 In the prose-introduction directly after the fifth verse of the *Mangala*, p 2, ll 3 ff, the following piece is given

इह किल शिष्येण विनीतविनयेन श्रुतजलविपारगमस्य क्रियापरस्य गुरो मग्नीये विविना सर्वमभ्येतव्यम् । ततो भव्योपकाराय देशना क्लेशविनाशिनी विस्तार्या । तद्विशिष्यायम् । अस्वलितममिलितमहीनाक्षर सूत्रम् । अग्राम्यललितभङ्ग्यार्थ कथ्य । कायगुप्तेन परित सम्भ्येषु दत्तदृष्टिना यावदर्थवबोध वक्तव्यम् । वक्तु प्रायेण चरितै प्रबन्धेश्च कार्यम् । तत्र श्रीकृष्णभादि-वर्धमानान्ताना चक्रवादीना राज्ञा ऋषीणां चार्यरक्षिताना वृत्तानि चरितान्युच्यन्ते । तत्पश्चात्कालस्य[गता]ना तु नराणा वृत्तानि प्रबन्धा इति ॥

8 *Prabandhuśantāman* p 1

श्रीगुणचन्द्रगणेश प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि नव ग्रन्थम् ।  
भारतमिवाशिराम प्रथमादशेन निर्मितवान् ॥ ५ ॥  
भृशश्रुतवाक् कथा-पुराण  
प्रीणन्ति चेनासि तथा बुधानाम् ।  
वृत्तैस्तद्वासङ्गमना प्रबन्ध-  
चिन्तामणिग्रन्थमह तनोमि ॥ ६ ॥  
बुधै प्रबन्ध-न्यायिष्योच्यमाना  
भवन्त्यवश्य यदि भिन्नभावा ।  
ग्रन्थे तथाप्यत्र सुसम्प्रदाय-  
दृष्टे न चर्चा चतुरविधेया ॥ ७ ॥

9 See *Prabhāvakacarita* XXII, 9 where the town is called 'a firm stage of might (of the faith)', and Note 16 Merutunga (see Note 15) adds that the town lies in the Ardhasatama district. The name Ardhasatama refers probably, like many similar ones, to the number of localities belonging to the district and signifies 'containing twelve villages or towns'. The *Modherā(kārdhāstama)* is mentioned in the grant of land of Mularaja *Indian Antiquary*, vol VI, p 192. As regards the modern town Dhanluka see Sir W W Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer*, sub voce, and *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol IV, p 334.

10 The year of birth is given by Jinamandana and in *Prabh Car* XXII, 852 (see below Note 14), compare also Note 16. In future, I shall only give the Vikrama years, because the transmutation into the Christian years cannot generally be effected with certainty.

11 The name of the father is *Cārah* in the *Prabhāvakacarita*, in *Rājas'ekhara* it is always, and in Jinamandana sometimes *Cārah*. The name of the mother is written *Pāhina* by Merutunga and *Rājas'ekhara*. The *Simodh* *Vamnas* are numerous even to-day. There are also numerous Brahmins who call themselves after the same place *Simodh* (*Journ B Br R A S* Vol X, pp 109-110). The name of both is derived from the ancient town *Modherā*, south of *Anhilvād*, see Mr K Forbes, *Rās Malā* p 80.

12 The MSS have also sometimes *Caṅgadeva*. Merutunga (see Note 15) says that Pāhina belonged to the *Cāmunda*gotra, and that her son's name therefore began with *cā*. *Cānga* or *Canga* may, however, be connected with the *Desī* word *cangam*, Sindhi *cangu*, 'good', and *Marāṭhī*, *cāmgalā*, 'good'.

13 *Prabhāvakacarita* XXII, 13

सा कीचूडामणिचिन्तामणि स्वप्नेन्यदैक्षत ।  
दत्तं निजगुरुणा च भक्त्या...वेदात् ॥ १३ ॥  
च[वान्]द्रगच्छस्य पद्मं तत्रास्ते मण्डितो गुणै ।  
प्रसन्नस्त्वैरिष्यन्तीदेवचन्द्रगुनीधरः ॥ १४ ॥

आव[च]क्षौ पाहिनी प्रातः स्वप्नस्वप्नसूचितम् ।  
 तत्पुरः स तदर्थं च [च] शास्त्रद[ष्ट] जगौ गुरु[ ] ॥ १५ ॥  
 जैनशासनपायोधिकोस्तुभ संभवी सुतः ।  
 ते च स्त[स्त्र]वकृतो यस्य देवा अपि सुकृतत ॥ १६ ॥  
 श्रीबीतरागविबी[क्षिम्बा]ना प्रतिष्ठादोहद् दधौ । . . .  
 तस्याथ पञ्चमे वर्षे वर्षीयस इवाभवत् ।  
 मतिः सद्गुरुभूषाविधौ विधुरितैनस ॥ २५ ॥  
 अस्म[न्य]दा मोदचैल्यान्तः प्रभूणा चैत्यवदनम् ।  
 कुर्वतां पाहिनी प्रायात् स[स]पुत्रा तत्र पुण्यम् ॥ २६ ॥  
 सा व[च] प्रादक्षिण्य दत्त्वा यावर्कु[त्कुर्यात्] स्तुति जिने ।  
 चक्रदेवो निपचाया तावन्नि[न्य]वि[वी]विशद्दु [गुरो] ॥ २७ ॥  
 स्मरसि त्व महास्वप्नं च तद्दाल्यो कल्पिसि [लोकवत्सलि] ।  
 तस्याभिज्ञानानसीक्षस्व स्वयं पुत्रेण ते कृतम् ॥ २८ ॥  
 इत्युक्त्वा गुह्यं पुत्रं सचनदेन नन्दन [मघानन्दविचर्धनः ?] ।  
 कल्पवृक्ष इवाप्रार्थि म जनन्या[ ] समीपत ॥ २९ ॥  
 सा ग्राह प्राध्यतामस्य पिता युक्तमिदं ननु ।  
 ते तदीयाननुज्ञाया मीता किमपि नाभ्यजु ॥ ३० ॥  
 अलङ्कारत्वाद् गुरोर्वाच[ ] माचारस्थितया तथा ।  
 दूनयापि सुतच्छेहादाप्येत स्थ[स्त्र]मसस्मृते ॥ ३१ ॥  
 तमादाय स्तम्भत्[ ] यं जग्मुः श्रीपार्श्वमन्दिरे ।  
 माघे सितचतुर्दश्यां ब्राह्मे धिर्[ ] ये शक्ते[ने]र्दिने ॥ ३२ ॥  
 [धि]ण्ये तथाष्टमे धर्मस्थिते चन्द्रे वृषोपगो ।  
 लभे वृत्ततौ ( ? ) स्थितयो [ ] सूर्यभौमयो ॥ ३३ ॥  
 श्रीमानुद्घनस्तस्य दीक्षोत्सवमकारयत् ।  
 सोमचन्द्र इति ख्यातं नाम[मा]स्य गुरवो ददु ॥ ३४ ॥

The verses already given by Klatz, *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XII, p. 254, Note 55, which enumerate the most important events in Hemacandra's life, are

शरवेदेश्वरे ११४५ वर्षे कार्तिके पूर्णिमानिधि ।  
 जन्माभवत् प्रभोर्धर्मोमवाणशम्भो ११५० व्रत तथा ॥ ८५२ ॥  
 रसवद्[री]श्वरे ११६६ सूरिप्रतिष्ठा[ष्ट] समजायत ।  
 नन्दद्वयवर्षी १२२९ वर्षेवसानमभवत् प्रभो ॥ ८५३ ॥

14 In the *Prabandha-śāntamūrti*, Merutunga makes (p. 207) Mantana Udayama relate the story of Hemacandra's youth in the following manner:

अन्यदा श्रीहेमचन्द्रस्य लोकोत्तरेणैरणैरहद्वयो नृपतिर्मन्त्रिभ्युदघनसिति पप्रच्छ । यदीदृशं पुरुरखं ममस्तवशावतले  
 बभौ देशे च समस्तपुण्यप्रवेशिनि नि शेषगुणाकारे नगरे च कस्मिन् समुत्पन्नमिति । नृपादेशावतु म मन्त्री जन्मप्रभृति तच्चरित्रं  
 प्रवित्रसिन्धमाह । अर्धोष्टमनामसि देशे धन्वकुलमिधाने नगरे श्रीमन्मोदवंशे चाधिगनामा व्यवहारी । सतीजनमातुलिका जिन-  
 शासनदेवीव तत्सधर्मचारिणी शरीरिणीव श्री पाहिणीनाम्नी । चामुण्डगोत्रजयोरान्ध्राक्षरेणाङ्कितनामा तयो पुत्रश्चाङ्गदेव समजनि ।  
 स चाष्टवर्षदेश्य श्रीदेवचन्द्राचार्येणु श्रीपत्तामस्थितेषु धन्वकुले श्रीमोदवसहिकाया देवनमस्करणाय प्राप्तेषु सिंहासनस्थित-  
 तदीयनिषाया उपरि सवयोभि निक्षुभि सम रममाण सहसा निषसाद् । तदङ्गप्रत्यङ्गानां जगद्विलक्षणानि लक्षणानि निरीक्ष्य ।  
 अयं यदि क्षत्रियकुले जातस्तदा सार्वभौमश्चकवर्त्त । यदि वणिग्विप्रकुले जातस्तदा महामात्य । चेद्दर्शनं प्रतिपद्यते तदा युगप्रधान  
 इव युगेऽपि युगेऽपि कृतयुगमवतारयति । स आचार्य इति विचार्य तन्मगरवास्तव्यैर्बवहारिभि सम तद्विप्लवा चाधिगगूह प्राप्य  
 तस्मिन्वाशिने भ्रामान्तरभाजि तत्पदव्या विवेकिन्या स्वागतादिभि परितोषित श्रीसचस्वत्पुत्र याचितुमिहागत इति व्याहरन् ।  
 अथ सा हर्षाश्रुणि मुञ्चन्ती स्वं रत्नगर्भं मन्यमाना । श्रीसचस्वीर्यकृतां मान्य स मत्पुत्रं वाचत इति हर्षोत्पदे विषाद । वत

तत्स्थिता नितान्तमिथ्यादृष्टि । अपर तादृशोऽपि सम्प्रति प्राप्ते न । ते स्वज्ञेनेत्येवा दीपतामिलमिहिते स्वदोषोत्तरणाय मात्रामात्र गुणपात्र पुत्रनेभ्यो गुरुभ्यो वदे । तदनन्तरं तथा श्रीदयचन्द्रसूरिरिति तदीयमभिमितधानमयोधि । वैगुहभि सोऽपि शिशु शिष्यो भविष्यसीति दृष्ट आमित्युच्चरन् प्रतिनितुत्तमे सम कर्णावस्थामाजगाम । मञ्जुवदनगृहे तस्मै सम बालधारकं पाल्यमाने यावदास्ते तावता ग्रामा-न्तरादागतश्चाचिगतः वृषान्न परिज्ञाय पुत्रदर्शनावधि सन्यस्तसम्पत्साहारक्षेपां गुरुणा नाम भत्वा कर्णावधि प्राप्य तद्वनतानुपेत्य कुपितोऽपि तानीपत प्रभयं गुरुम सुतानुमारेणोपलक्ष्य विचक्षणतया विविधाभिरावर्जनाभिरावर्जितस्त्रेष्टानी-नेनोदयनमश्रिणा धर्मरथुबुद्धि निजमन्दिरं नीत्वा ज्याय गुरोराभक्त्य भोजयामास । तदनु चादवेद सुत तदुत्सृज्य निदेश्य पञ्चाङ्गप्रदानमर्हितं तुल्यत्रय प्रत्यक्ष लक्षत्रय चोपनीय समकिक्रमावर्जितस्त्यं प्रति चाचिगं प्राह । क्षत्रियस्य मूलेस्थीशत्यधिकसहस्रं पुरगस्य मूले पञ्चाशदधिकानि सप्तदश शतानि । अकिञ्चिन्नरस्यापि वणिजो मृग्ये नवनवतिलक्षभा । पुनावता नवनवतिलक्षा भवन्ति । ख तु लक्षत्रयसंपैयज्ञोदाधेयपञ्चागा कापिण्यं प्रादुर्कुर्ये । मदीयं सुतसाद्वनय्या भवदीया च भक्तिनर्धयत्तमा । तदस्य मूले ये सा भक्तिरस्तु । शिष्यनिर्मोत्तमिमांसावृष्टयो मे ऽविणमचय । इयं चाचिगे सुतस्य स्वरूपमभिवदयाने प्रमोदपरितचित्तं स मध्यकुण्डोऽकण्ठतया त परिभ्य मातु माप्तिनि वदन् श्रीमान् उदयन प्राह । मम पुत्रतया समपितो योगिमर्कट इव सर्वेषा जनाना नमस्कृतं कुर्वन् केवलमपमानपात्र भवित्वा । गुरुरा गच्छतु गुरुपदं प्राप्य वालेन्द्रविर त्रिभुवननमस्करीयो जायते । यथोचित विचार्यं व्यापारन्यादृष्टि स भवद्विचार एव प्रमाणमिति उदन् गुरुराधेयं नीतं सुत गुरुभ्योर्दीदपत् । तदनु मुनस्य प्रब्रज्यकरणोत्सव-श्चाचिगेन चक्रे ॥

The above text does not agree exactly with the edition. A few better readings have been inserted from the above-mentioned MSS. *Mamtaṅga's language* is here is generally in the *Prabandha-vaṇṇana*, very much mixed with Gujarati idiom. The word *śaśaḍa*, which occurs above, line 5 of the SK text means a set of buildings in which there are a temple and a monastery, and corresponds to the term *śaśaḍa* or *śaśaḍa* which is used by the Digambaris.

15 *Præambulo* pp. 981

ते वितन्तो वस्तुषु गुणैरधरासुराद्रामविश्वं गता । तत्र देशनाचिन्तर । सभायामेकदा नेमिनागनामा  
श्रावकं समुत्थाय देवचन्द्रसूरीन् जगा । भगवन्नय मोक्षार्थायौ मद्गतिनीपाहिणौकुशिसूचुरचाधि[चि]कनन्दनश्राद्धदेवनामा  
भरता देशना पुत्र्या मनुद्धो वीक्षा याचते । अस्मिन्नय गमनस्थे मन भग्[गि]न्या सहकारतर स्वमे दष्ट । स व [च] स्थानान्तरे  
गुप्तमन्त्रं महतीं फलस्फानिमायाति स्म । उच्य आहु । स्थानान्तरगतस्यास्य महिमा प्रैषिष्यते । महत् पात्रमसी योग्य  
सुलक्ष्णो दीक्षणीय । केनच पित्रोरनुज्ञा आत्मा । गोमा मातुषमाग्न[गि]न्येतो पाहिणी[णी]वानि[चि]कातिम् । उक्ता व्रत-  
वृत्तान्ताभ्यां प्रतिषेध । करुणवचनशतेश्चाद्देवो दीक्षां ललो ।

10 Although the narrative so far offers anything new I am giving the particular passage of the *Kṛṣṇarajatarāṅga*, so as to show by an example, how Jñānānanda is in the habit of making use of his jīva's source. According to No 286, pp 27-31 the story to which is prefixed a report about Devaendia that is borrowed from the *Pratyakṣaśāstra* (see Note 20), runs as follows —

श्रीदेवचन्द्रसूय एकदा विहगन्तो वन्धुपुरे प्रापु । तत्र मोदवधो वा[च]चिक श्रेष्ठी[ही] । पाहिना[नी]  
 भार्या । तयान्धेषु स्वमे चित्तामर्णिरष्ट पर गुरुभ्यो दत्त । तदा तत्रागत[ता] श्रीदेवचन्द्रगुरुव पृष्टा स्वमफलम् ।  
 गुरुनिरुधे । पुत्रो भावी तव विन्तामणिसु[म]ल्य । पर स सुरिराड् जेनशासनभायको भविता गुरूणा रत्नदानादिति ।  
 गुरुवच श्रुत्वा मुदिता पाहिनी तद्दिने गर्भं बभार । सवत ११२५ कालिकपूर्णिमाग्राश्रिमसमे पुत्रजन्म[म] ।

तदा वागशरीरासीद्गोम्नि ( श्रीभान्ये ) [ भाष्य ] स तत्त्ववित् ।

निज[जिन]वज् जिनधर्मस्य स्थापक सूरिसे[शे]खर ॥ १ ॥

जन्ममोच्छ्र[त्स]वपूष चाद्देवेति नाम दत्तम् । क्रमेण पञ्चार्थिको माश्रा सह मोदवसहिकाया देववन्दनायागतो बालशापहृत्स्वभावेन देवनमस्कृणार्थमागत[त्-] श्रीदेवचन्द्रगुरुनिपद्याया निषज[ण] । तथा दृष्ट्वा गुरुमिरुचे पाहिना-  
[नि] । सुश्राविके स्वरसि स्वमिचार पूर्वकथित संवादफलम् । बालकाद्भक्तक्षानि विलोक्य मातुप्रेकथि । यथय श्रित्रियकुले तदा सार्वभौमो नरेन्द्र[ ] । यदि ब्र[ह्म]क्षणवणिक्कुटे तदा महामात्य । चूचि[ट] दीक्षा गृह्णानि तदा युगप्रधान इव नुर्ये युगे कृतयुगमवत[त्ता]रयन्ती । मा पाहिनी गुरुवचोमृगोद्दाम्निमा समुत्ता गृह गता । गुरवोऽपि शालायामाणस्य श्रीसधमाकयं गता[ ] श्रावका[ ] अश्रि[ष्टि]गृहे । वशि[चपि] के ग्रामान्तर गते वा[प] हिन्ध्या श्रीसंघो गृहागत स्नागतकराणिदना तोषित । मार्गितश्च[आ] ब्रदेव । दृष्ट्वा पाहिनी हर्षाञ्चपि मुञ्चन्ति[न्ती] स्वं रत्नगर्मा मन्द्यमानापि

चिन्तातुरा जाता । एकत एतत्पिता मिथ्यादृष्टि । तादृशोऽपि मामे नास्ति । एकतस्तु श्रीसधो गृहागत पुत्र बाचत इति किं कर्तव्यं मूर्खचित्ता क्षणमभूत् । तद( द )नु ॥

कल्पद्रुमस्तस्य गृहेऽवतीर्णश्चिन्तामणस्तस्य करे ल[ लु ]लोठ ।

त्रेलोक्यलक्ष्मीरपि तां वृण[ णी ]ते गृहाङ्गण यस्य पुनीते सच ॥ १ ॥

तथा ॥

उर्वीं गुर्वीं तदनु जलद् सागर कुम्भजन्मा

व्यू[ ष्यो ]मा[ या ]ती रविहिमकरो तौ च यस्याहिपीठे ।

स प्रौढश्रीर्जिनपरिवृद्ध सोऽपि यस्य प्रणन्ता

स श्रीसचक्षिभुवनगुरु कस्य क[ कि ] स्यान् न मान्य ॥ २ ॥

इति प्रत्युस[ त्य ]ममनिर्माता श्रीसधेन सम[ म ] गुरुन् कल्पतरूनिव गुहागताज्ज्ञावावसरश्च स्वजनानुमति लात्वा नि[ ज ]व[ पु ]त्र श्रीगुरुभ्यो ददौ । तत श्रीगुरुभि श्रीमधसमक्षम् । ह[ हे ] वरस श्रीत[ ती ]र्थकरचक्रवर्ति- [ ति ] गणधैरासेविता सुरासुरनिकरनायकमहन्वा[ नीया ] मुक्तिकान्तास[ स ] गमवृत्[ ती ] दीक्षा त्व लास्यसीति- प्रोक्ते । स च कुमार प्राग्भव[ गभाव ]चारित्रावरणीयकर्मक्षयोपम[ श ]मेन सयमश्ववर्णमात्रमजातपरसवेग सह[ ह ]सा ओमिच्छुवाच । ततो मात्रा स्वजनैश्चानुमत पुत्र सयमानुरागपवित्र लात्वा श्रीनीर्यथात्रा विधाय कर्णावतीं जग्मु श्रीगुरव । तत्रोदयनमग्निगृहे तत्पुत्रै सम बालधारकै पाल्यमान सकलमघलोकमान्य सयमपरिणामधन्यो वैनायिकादिगुणविज्ञो याचदास्ते तावता ग्रामान्तरादागतश्चाविग पत्नीनिचे[ वे ]दितश्रीगुरुमवागमपुत्रार्पणाद्विद्वत्तान् पुत्रदर्शनावधि [ स ]न्यस्ताहार कर्णोवस्ता गत । तत्र वन्दिता गुरव । श्रुत्वा[ ता ] धर्मदेशना । मुतानुसारेणोपलक्ष्य विचक्षणतयाभाणि श्रीगुरुभि ।

कुल पवित्र जननी कृतार्था

वसुन्धरा भाग्यवती च तेन ।

अवाक्यमार्गे सुखमिच्छुमग्रे

लीन परब्रह्मणि यस्य चेत् ॥ १ ॥

कल[ ल ]क कुरुते कश्चिन् कुलेऽतिविमले सुत ।

धननाशकर कश्चिद व्यसनैर्गुणनाशने ॥ २ ॥

पित्रो सतापक कोऽपि यौवने श्व[ प्रेय ]सीमु[ नु ]त् ।

बाल्येऽपि नि[ नि ]यते कोऽपि स्यात् कोऽपि विकलेन्द्रिय ॥ ३ ॥

सर्वाङ्गसुन्दर किं तु ज्ञानवान् गुणनीरधि ।

श्रीजिनेन्द्रपथावय [ न्य ] प्राप्यते पुण्यत सुत ॥ ४ ॥

इति श्रीगुरुमुखादाकर्ण्य सजानप्रमद[ मोद ] प्रमन्नचित्तश्चाविगस्तत्र श्रीगुरुणा[ पात्रा ]रविन्दनमस्यायै समायातेनोदयनमग्निणा धर्मबान्धवविधया निजगृहे नीत्वा भोजयाचके । तदनु च्छ[ चाङ्ग ]देव तदुच्छ[ स्स ]जि निवेद्य पञ्चाङ्गप्रसादपूर्वक दृक्क[ कूल ]त्रय चोपनीय सभक्तिकमावर्ति[ जि ]तश्चाविग सानन्द मग्निणमवाद्त[ दीर् ] । मग्निन् क्षत्रियस्य मूल्येऽतीत्यधिक सहस्र १०८० । अश्वमूल्ये पञ्चाङ्ग[ शद ]धिकानि सप्तदश शतानि [ शि ] । सामान्यस्यापि घण्टो नवनवति ०९ गजेन्द्रा । एतावता नवनवतिलक्षा भवन्ति । त्व तु लक्षत्रयसर्पयन् स्थूल- लक्षायसे । अतो मल्लु[ लु ]नोनर्ध्वसर्वदीया भक्तिस्त्वनर्ध्वतमा । तदस्य मूल्ये मा भक्तिरस्तु । न तु मे द्रव्येण प्रयोजनमस्य[ त्य ]स्पश्यसेतन् मम शिवनिर्मास्यमिव । दत्तो मया पुत्रो भवतामिति । चाविगवच श्रुत्वा प्रमुदितमना मञ्जी त पर[ रि ]रभ्य सापु युक्तमेतदिति वदन् पुनस्त प्रत्युवाच । त्वयाय पुत्रो ममापित । पर योग[ गि ]मकंठ इव सवेषामपू[ पि ]जनाना नमस्कार कुर्वन् केवलमपत्रपापात्र भवित । श्रीगुरुणां तु समर्पित श्रीगुरुपद प्राप्य बाळ- [ ले ]न्दुरिव महती[ ता ] महनीयो भवतीति विचार्यता यतो[ यो ]चित्तम् । तत स भवद्विचार एव प्रमाणमिति वदन् सु[ स ]कलश्रीसंघसमक्ष रत्नकरणमिव रक्षणीयमुद्[ दु ]म्बरपुष्पमिव दुर्लभ पुत्र क्षमाश्रमणपूर्वक गुरुणा समर्पयामास । श्रीगुरुमिरभाणि ।

धनधान्यस्य दातार [ ] सन्ति स्वचन केचन ।

पुत्रभिक्षाप्रद कोऽपि दुर्लभ पुण्यवान् पुमान् ॥ १ ॥

धनधान्यादिसप्तसु लोके सारा न्[ तु ] संतति ।

तत्रापि पुत्रस्तु तु तस्य दान महत्तमम् ॥ २ ॥

स्वर्गस्था पितरो वा[ की ]क्ष[ क्षय ] दीक्षित जिनदीक्षया ।  
मोक्षाभिलाषिण पुत्र तृप्ता[ ] स्यु स्वर्गममतिन्[ दि ] ॥ ३ ॥

महाभारतेष्वभाषि ।

तावद् भू[ अ ]मन्त्रि समारे पितर पिण्डकाङ्क्षिण ।  
याव[ न ] कुले विमुखात्मा यती[ ति ] पुत्रो न जायते ॥ १ ॥

इति श्रुत्वा प्रमुदिनेन चाविरोदयनमधिष्ठा च प्रवक्ष्यामहेत्यद[ व ] कारित । सोमदेवमुनिनाम दत्त  
कचित् सोमचन्द्रमुनिरिति वा । श्राविकमात् ११४५ श्रीहेमसूरीभा[ णा ] जन्म । ११५४ दीक्षा च ।

In the last part of the narrative the text in the MS is in great disorder, because the injudicious copyist inserted in the wrong order the supplements which stood in the margin of the original. At the end of the work, p. 283, the dates of the chief events in Hemacandra's life are given once again. There we read as at the end of the *Jñānabodhiśāstra*

मवत् ११४५ कार्तिकपूर्णिमानिति जन्म श्रीहेमसूरीणा ।  
सदत्त ११५० दीक्षा मवत् ११६६ सूरिपट मवत् १२०० स्वर्ग ।

These data may be sufficient to justify the above-expressed judgment (p. 3) as regards Jinamundana, and to show that his *Chandra* is absolutely worthless as a source, except where he has made extracts from inaccessible works.

17 The above statements are based upon detailed investigations which I made in various localities in Western India in the years 1873-1879. First of all I heard in Rājputānā from a good source that several Yatis whose acquaintance I made and one of whom occupied an important position, owed their existence to the errors of Brahmin widows. Later in 1877 I was in Khedi, who quite frankly named the mothers of their *Chellis* and related through whom they had received them. In 1873 in Nandol in Rājputānā I came to know of one case, in which a Yati had taken in an orphaned child at the time of the famine of 1868/69 and saved it from death by starvation. The boy who visited me with his Guru was about eight years old at that time. He had already learnt parts of the *Sūtras* and *Stotras* and recited the beginning of the *Dasavaikālika Sūtra*, and also the *Bhaktimā* quite nicely. He had not yet had his first consecration. A case where a little Jain boy was given by his parents to a monk at the request of the latter as a pupil and with the intention of making him a Yati came to my knowledge in 1875 or 1876 in Surat. On closer acquaintance, neither the Yatis nor the *Thyenas* in other towns also denied that the manner of recruiting their religious orders was not carried on in accordance with the ideals of their sacred doctrine, and they confessed that, in the *Duhsamāra* or in the *Khilyera* they just helped themselves as best they could.

18 About the position of Karmavati see K. Peabes *Rās Mālā*, pp. 79-80 especially Note 1. Udayana's immigration is related in the *Prabandhacandrāmā*, pp. 136-138 and in the *Karmavapālacarita* pp. 67-68. In the first-mentioned passage we read that Ūdā or Udayana came from Mārvād to Gujarat to purchase melted butter. An omen induced him to settle in Karmavati with his family. He acquired riches there and when he was having the groundwork for a new house laid with tiles, he found a great treasure. In consequence thereof, he was known as 'counsellor' Udayana, and became famous. He had a temple the Udayanavihāra, built in Karmavati. By various wives he had four sons Vāhadadeva [Vāgbhata], Ambada [Āmrabhata], Bohada and Sollāka. The names of the last two vary in part in the various MSS. Jinamundana repeats Merutunga's statements, but adds that Udayana belonged to the Śrīmali caste and was appointed as a Mētrin by Siddharāja in Stambhatirtha, तत्. सिद्धेश्वर  
स्वभलीयं मन्त्री कृत

19 *Prabandhacandrāmā*, p. 232, and above p. 46

20 The accounts about Devacandra stand at the beginning of the *Hemavāsūprabandha*. With the omission of the story of the conversion of Rānā Yas'obhadra, they read as follows —



पूर्णे[ चन्द्र ]गच्छे श्रीदत्तसुरिप्राज्ञो वागददन्ने वटपट् पुन गत । तत्र स्वामी यशोभद्रनामा राणकं कृद्विमान् ।  
तत्सौधान्तिक उपाश्रय आर्द्धदत्त । रात्राबुन्मुद्रचन्द्रातपाया राणकेन ऋपयो दृष्टा उपाश्रये निपण्ण । तस्य  
राणक्षीयशोभद्रस्य गीताशेरवात् सुरिपट् जाल श्रीयशोभद्रसुरिरि[ नि ] नाम । तदीयपट्टे प्रमुञ्चसुरियन्धकार । तत्पदे  
श्रीगुणसेनसूरि । श्रीयशोभद्रसुरिपट्टे [ ? ] श्रीदेवचन्द्रसूरय । ठाणवृत्तिशान्तिनाथचरितादि महाशास्त्रकरणनिब्यूढप्र-  
[ मा ]ज्ञागभारा ।

The portion of Rājasekhara's narrative immediately following is given above in Note 17. In the *Kumārāpāṇatīkā*, pp 25 ff Jinamandina repeats the story told by Rājasekhara. The beginning reads, p 25 line 2 लोटिकगणे यद्गदागताया चन्द्रगच्छे श्रीदत्तसूरयो विद्वन्ने वागददेशस्य वटपट्टपुरे प्रापु । The series of teachers is given as follows — तपट्टे प्रमुञ्चसूरि । नट्टिष्ठस्य आगुणपेनसूरि । तपट्टे श्रीदेवचन्द्रसूरय ॥ Vāgada is the old name and still used today, of the Eastern part of Kuch. Hemacandra's own statement is given above, on p 10 and in Note 66. As regards Devāsūri's statement about Devacandra's *Śāntendhacārīda*, see above Note 1 page 60.

21 *Prabandhacūṭamāni* pp 239 f. Hemacandra wished to learn the secret of making gold, because Kumārāpāla, like other founders of eras intended to pay off the debts of the world; see also page 10. Devacandra's name is not mentioned in the text; simply the phrase Hemacandra's Guru, occurs.

22 The most important verses of the *Prabandhacūṭamāni* about the years which Hemacandra had spent at school, read as follows:

सोमचन्द्रस्ततश्चन्द्रोऽबलप्रज्ञाबलादमा ।  
तर्कलक्षणसाहित्यविद्या[ ] पर्यङ्गि[ चिह्न ]नव द्रुतम् ॥ २७ ॥  
प्रभावक दुर्गधर्मसु सुरिपट्टोचिन्त [ चितम् ] ।  
विज्ञाय म[ म ]वनामन्य[ गाराञ्च ] भु[ गु ]ग्गोभत्रयजिति ॥ २७ ॥  
योग्य विप्य पदे न्यस्य स्वयं दार्य [ क ]र्तुमाचिनी ।  
अस्मत्पूर्व मुम[ पाम् ] आचारा[ ] गटा विहि[ दि ]त्रपविट्टा[ न् ] ॥ २८ ॥  
तट्टे विजद्वज्रवाहल्लभ व्यावा[ चा ]रयन् ।  
सुहृन्[ तं ] पूर्वनिर्णीत क[ कृ ]तदन्दीविधिक्रमा ।  
ध्वनचु[ त ]योग्यान्मुद्रमङ्गला[ ला ]चारबन्धुर [ रा ] ॥ २९ ॥  
शब्दादेव विश्रान्ते ममाद्य[ मये ] योमि [ चोषि ] ते मति ।  
पूरकापूरि[ त ]स्व.म[ स्वर्ण ]हृत्प्रयोजनमेदरा ॥ ३० ॥  
श्रवणगुरुकूर्पूरचन्द्रनन्दचर्चिते ।  
कलिन सोमचन्द्रस्य [ ब्रह्म ]निष्ठा[ छा ]न्मरात्मन [ न ] ॥ ३१ ॥  
श्रीगौतमादिसूर[ रि]शरारावितमावावितम् ।  
श्रीदेवचन्द्रगुरव सूरिमन्त्रमर्चाकथन [ यन् ] ॥ ३२ ॥  
पद्ममि कुलकम् ॥  
निरस्कृतकलाकेलि कलाकेलिकुलाश्रय ।  
हेमचन्द्रप्रभु[ ] श्रीमन्नाम्ना विख्यातिमाप स ॥ ३३ ॥  
तदा च पाहिनी खेहवाहिनी यु[ सु ]त उत्तमे ।  
तत्र चारित्रमादत्ताविहसा गुरहन्त ॥ ३४ ॥  
प्रवर्तिनी[ नी ] प्रतिष्ठा[ छा ] च दापयामास नम्रगी ।  
तदेवा निवाचार्यो ( ? ) गुरुभ्य मभ्यसाक्षिकम् ॥ ३५ ॥  
मिहासनासन तस्या अम्बमानयदेश च ।  
कटरे ( ? ) जननीमकिरुतझा[ माना ] क्षो[ कपो ]पल ॥ ३६ ॥

The story of the journey is omitted because the majority of the verses are very badly damaged. It is in verses 38-46. Marutunga makes his account much shorter. The end of the passage, as given above, in Note 15, reads —

अथ च कुम्भयोनिरिवाप्रतिमप्रतिभाभिरामतया समस्तवाङ्मयमपेक्षिमुष्टिचयोभ्यस्तसमस्तविद्यास्थानो हेमचन्द्र  
इति गुरुदत्तनाम्ना प्रसीत सकलविद्वान्मनोपनिषद्विषण्णी षट्त्रिंशत्ता गुणैरलंकृततनुर्गुणैर्बि सूरिपदेभिर्विक । इति मङ्गयुद्ध-  
तोवित जन्मप्रभृति वृत्तान्त आकर्ण्य नृपतिर्मुमुदेतराम् ॥

Therefore Marutunga does not know the second name Somadeva. His assertion that Udayana related the story of Hemacandra's youth to King Kumārāpala contains a serious anachronism. As Udayana immigrated to Gujarat in the Vikram-Samvat 1150, and as Kumārāpala ascended the throne in the Vikram year 1199, and is supposed to have reigned several years before this conversation took place, Udayana could not have still been alive.

Jinamandana, *Kum. Ca.* p. 31, line 12 up to p. 36 line 5 reports a good deal, but merely absurd stories about Hemacandra's apprenticeship-time. He relates, (pp. 31-42) that Somadeva received the name Hemacandra because at the beginning of his apprenticeship, he transmuted coal into gold (*hemat*) at the house of a Śaśthin named Dhima. Then he contradicts himself on p. 36, where he agrees in the main with the *Prabhāvalacaritra*. Then instead of one journey of Somadeva's and one apprenticeship-apportion, he speaks of two. The first journey was to be to Kāśmīr, and the second to the Gauri land in company of a Devendri and of the famous commentator Malayagiri. On the first occasion the goddess Sarasvatī appears and on the second Śaśanadevatā. Finally we hear that a merchant named Dharmada had the honour of an Ācārya given to Somadeva in the Vikram year 1166 with the consent of his Gmā and of the Singha. The date occurs three times in Jinamandana, is the same epoch time and agrees with that of the already-mentioned verse of the *Prabhāvalacaritra*, cf. also Bhattacharya, *Report on the Search etc.* 1883, 94 p. 11.

23 *Alankāraślokaśāstra* I 1

मद्यन्तरोपाधिके ॥ ४ ॥

मद्यन्तरोपाधिके प्रथमपादिकी प्रतिभा । द्युग्मावावरणक्षोपशान्तिमित्तैव दृष्टोपाधिविबन्धनवाचोपाधिकीत्युच्यते ॥

24 *Prabhāvalacaritra* XXV 1-73

श्रीहेमचन्द्रमूर्ति श्रीमद्यमाग[ग] ॥ १ ॥

विजहारान्यत्र श्रीवट्पणहिलपुत्र[र] पुत्रम् ॥ २ ॥

श्रीगिड[र] ॥ ३ ॥ नृपन्वेष्ट राजपाटिकाय व[च] ॥ ४ ॥

हेमचन्द्रप्रभु[सु] वीर्य तटस्थविपनिष्ठितम् ॥ ५ ॥

निरुद्ध दिग्ग[स्व] कामश्चे राज[प्रसरमङ्गलात्] ॥ ६ ॥

रिचिद भणियते[ये] स्वाहा प्रोवाच प्र[सु] ॥ ७ ॥

काय प्रसर भिद्ध हस्तिराजमशङ्कितम् ।

प्रत्यन्त दिग्गजा कि ता[नेर] भूस्त्वयैवोद्धृति[ता] यत ॥ ८ ॥

ध्रुवेति भूपति प्राप् नृष्टिपुष्ट सुधीश्वर ।

मध्याह्ने मे प्रमोदायागन्तव्य भवता सदा ॥ ९ ॥

तत्पूर्वं दर्शना[न] तस्य जज्ञे कुत्रापि म[त] ॥ १० ॥

आनन्दमन्दिर राजा यत्राज्यमभूत् प्रभो ॥ ११ ॥

अथदा सिद्धराजोपि जिवा मास्व[लव] मण्डलम् ।

समाजगाम तस्य वा[चा] शिष दर्शनो ददु ॥ १२ ॥

तत्र श्रीहेमचन्द्रोपि स्मिन्निर्गलानिवि ।

उवाच काष्ण[म] व्यग्रमतिश्च[न] यनिर्दर्शनम् ॥ १३ ॥

तथा हि ।

११३ | श्रीमि कामगवि स्वगोमयरमैरासिद्ध रत्नाकरा  
मुकास्वस्तिकमातनुचमुद्रुप एवं पूर्णकुम्भीभव ।  
एवा कल्पतरोर्दलानि सरलैर्दिग्गवारणास्त्रोणा—  
न्यायस स्वकैर्विजित्य जगतीं नन्वेति सिद्धाविष ॥ ७२ ॥  
व्याख्याविभूषिते वृत्ते [ हेमचन्द्र ] द्विभोस्त ।  
आजुहावावनीयात् [ पाल ] सूरिं सोधे पुन पुन ॥ ७३ ॥

Verse 72 has been given, after comparison with the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, as also with the other work mentioned below (Note 33). All the sources available to me give नन्वेति in the fourth Pāda. In spite of this, however, only नन्वेति can be correct.

The above narrative of the first meeting of Hemacandra with Siddhārāja is also found in the *Kumārāpālacarita*. There, however, the verse which is supposed to have been written by him (p. 36, lines 9-11), runs –

सिद्धराज राज[ गज ]राज उच्चकै  
कारय प्रसरमेतमग्र ।  
संप्रसन्तु हर्ती[ रिनी ]मतगजासु  
त् [ ते ] किमप्य भवत्व भूयता ॥

The divergent form proves that Jinamandana has used another source.

25. *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 144

26 The *Kumārāpālacarita* gives the following anecdotes immediately after the first meeting (1) Hemacandra declares the doctrines of all sects to be equally saving pp. 36-38 (2) Hemacandra mentions the qualities of a man who is worthy (*pūṇya*) of pious gifts pp. 38-39 (3) Hemacandra mentions to the King in Siddhāpur the difference between Mahāvīra and the Jina pp. 39-40, (4) Some pious foundations of Jayasimha

As regards the date, varying in time of the other sources concerning these stories, see pp. 21 f.

27 Colebrooke *Masi Essays* II, p. 275, ed. Cowell, where it is also shown that Yaśovarman probably ascended the throne only in the year V S. 1190. The contradictory statement in the *Kirtikāumudī* II, 32, according to which the prince of Mālva, Nuavarmaṇ, who was defeated by Jayasimha, was Yaśovarman's predecessor, may be left without any consideration. For Yaśovarman is distinctly mentioned in the *Dvayāśayakāṇḍya*, and one may certainly trust that Hemacandra knew the name of the king who was defeated by his lord.

28 According to Forbes extracts from the *Dvayāśayakāṇḍya* (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, pp. 266 f.), Jayasimha did the following deeds after his return from Mālva: (1) He remained for a time in Siddhāpura-Srīsthala, and had the Rudra Māla temple, or properly speaking the Rudra-mahālaya temple restored, and had a temple of Mahāvīra built, (2) he made a pilgrimage to Somnāthpattan and Gīrnār, (3) After his return to Anhilvāt, he had the Sahasralinga-lake dug, and caused many other gardens to be laid out. As Hemacandra in other places where we can control him, gives events in their proper order, we may trust him here too. If we do this, then it goes without saying that Jayasimha must have reigned for a number of years after his return from Mālva, and that this event could not have taken place later than the Vikrama year 1194.

29 *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* pp. 161-171

30 The verse is quoted by Klatt, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 254, Note 54. The *Prabhāvalacarita* does not mention directly Hemacandra's presence at the disputation. However, it hints at this, by giving a verse which Hemacandra is supposed to have composed in honour of the victory of the Svetāmbaras. We read in XXI, 253-54 –

श्रीसिद्धहेमचन्द्राभिधान[ ने ] शब्दानुशासने ।  
सूत्रधार प्रभु श्रीमान् हेमचन्द्रप्रमुर्जगौ ॥ २५३ ॥  
तथा हि ।

यदि नाम कुमुदचन्द्र[ न्द्र ] नाजेष्यद् देवसूरिर्हिमरवि ।  
कटिपरिधानमधास्यत् कृतम श्वेताम्बरो जगति ॥ २५४ ॥

The verso looks as though it were written to illustrate the use of the Conditional Kielhorn informs me that it is not to be found in the Commentary to the Grammar

31 *Prabhāraṇa*, etc. XII, 74-115

अन्यदावन्तिकोशीयपुस्तकेषु नियुक्त[ क ]के ।  
उदयमानेषु भूषेनश्च[ नात्रै ]क्षि लक्षणपुस्तकम् ॥ ७४ ॥  
किमेतदिति पप्रच्छ स्वामी ते व्यजिज्ञापन् ।  
भोजन्याकरणेन[ च ] शब्दशास्त्रप्रवर्तने ॥ ७५ ॥  
अमो[ सो ] हि मालवाधीशो विद्वच्चक्रशिरोमणि ।  
शब्दालङ्कारदेवज्ञताकंशास्त्राणि निर्ममे ॥ ७६ ॥  
चिकित्सा राजभिडान्तरम[ म ] वाम्( त )द्वयानि च ।  
अ[ अ ]कृताकुलिकाभ्यामस्वप्नग्रामुद्रिकाण्यपि ॥ ७७ ॥  
ग्रन्थास्तिमितन्याख्यानप्रसन्नचूडामणीनिह ।  
विवृति[ त्ति ] वाचम[ चाथस ]ज्ञावेयंशास्त्रमेघमालयो ॥ ७८ ॥  
भूपालोप्यवदत् किं नास्मत्कोषे शास्त्रपठति ।  
विद्वान् कोपि कथं नास्ति देशे विश्वेपि ( ' ) गूजरे ॥ ८० [ ७९ ]  
मयं मम्भूय विद्वानो हेमचन्द्र व्यलोकयन् ।  
महाभक्त्या राज्ञामावभ्यर्च्य प्रार्थयि[ त् ] तन्मत ॥ ८१ [ ८० ]  
गच्छन्पुनर्गच्छन्निर्मायास्मन्मनोरथम् ।  
प्रयस्य महयं त्वं विना त्वामत्र क प्रभु ॥ ८२ [ ८१ ]  
सक्षिप्तश्च प्रवृत्तोय म[ म ]मयेसिन् कलापक ।  
लक्षण[ ने ] तत्र निष्पत्ति शब्दाना[ ना ]नास्ति तादृशी ॥ ८३ [ ८२ ]  
पाणिनि[ ने ]लक्षण वेदस्याङ्गनित्यप्रवन् द्विज ।

॥ ८४ ॥

य( )शो मम तव ख्याति पुण्य च मुनिनायक[ ] ।  
विश्वलोकोपकाराय कुरु व्याकरणं नवम् ॥ ८५ [ ८४ ]  
( का ) कार्येषु न किलोक्ति वा [ ष ] स्मारणाये[ यै ]व केवलम् ॥ ८६ [ ८५ ]  
पर व्याकरणान्यथा वर्तन्ते पुस्तकानि च ।  
तेषां श्रीभारतीदेवीकोश एवास्तिता भुवम् ॥ ८७ [ ८६ ]  
आनाययन्तु काश्मीरदेशात्तानि स्वमानुषि [ वै ] ।  
महाराजो यथा सम्यक् शब्दशास्त्रं प्रतन्यते ॥ ८८ [ ८७ ]  
इति तस्योक्तमाकर्ण्य ततश्च( रक्ष )णादेव भूपति ।  
प्रधानपुरुषान् प्रेषीद् वाग्देवीदेशमध्यत ॥ ८९ [ ८८ ]  
प्रवराख्यपुरे तत्र प्राप्स्यसे देवतां गिरम् ।  
व[ च ]न्दनादिमिर[ म्य ]र्व्यं तुष्टु पावनस्तवे ॥ ९० [ ८९ ]  
ममादिक्षभूस्तु[ क्षत् ] तु तैस्तु[ ष्टा ] निजाधिष्ठा[ ष्टा ]यकान् गिरा ।  
मम प्रसादचित्त श्रीहेमचन्द्र सिताम्बर [ श्वेताम्बर ] ॥ ९१ [ ९० ]

ततो मूर्त्यन्तरस्येव मदीयस्यास्य हेतवे ।

सतत्प [ सतर्प्य ] प्रेप्यता [ ता ] प्रेप्यवर्ग [ र्ग ] पुस्तकसंचय [ य ] ॥ ९२ [ ९१ ]

तत सङ्कृत्य तान् सम्यग भारतीसचिवालमन् [ वा समम् ] ।

पुस्तकान्यर्पयामासु प्रे [ प्रे ] पुत्रोन्मा [ सा ] हपडि [ णिड ] तम् ॥ ९३ [ ९२ ]

अचिराद्गगर स्वीय प्रापु दे [ दे ] कीप्रमादिता [ सादत ] ।

हर्षप्रकर्षसम्पन्नपुलकाङ्कुरपूरिता ॥ ९४ [ ९३ ]

सर्वे [ र्वे ] विज्ञापयामासुर्भूपालाय गिरोदिता [ तम् ] ।

निष्टो [ रष्ट ] प्रभौ हेमचन्द्रे [ परि ] गोपमहादरम् ॥ ९५ [ ९४ ]

इत्याकर्ण्य चमन्कार धारयन् वसुवाधिप ।

उवाच धन्यो महेशो ( ए ) [ मान्यो ] यत्रेदश कूर्ता ॥ ९६ [ ९५ ]

श्रीहेमसुरयोप्यग्रालोक्य व्याकरणग्रजम् ।

शास्त्र चत्क [ कृ ] नय श्रीमत्सिद्धान्त्यमञ्जुतम् ॥ ९७ [ ९६ ]

द्वात्रिंशत्पादसपूर्णमष्टाध्यायमुणादिम [ म ] न् ।

धातुपारायणा [ णो ] षेत रगलि [ सह-लि ] ज्ञानुशामनम् ॥ ९८ [ ९७ ]

सूत्रसद्वृत्तिमन् नाममालानेकार्थमुद्रा [ सुन्दरम् ] ।

मालि लक्षणशास्त्रेषु विश्वविद्वदभिरादत [ तम् ] ॥ ९९ [ ९८ ]

त्रिभिर्विशेषकम् ॥

आदौ विलोपशास्त्राणि न हि पाठ्यानि सर्वत ।

आयुषा सकलेनापि पुमर्थयवलनानि तत् ( ? ) ॥ १०० [ ९९ ]

सकीर्णानि व [ च ] दुर्वोधदोषस्थानानि कानिचित् ।

मृतप्रमाणित तस्माद्विभक्ति [ विद्वद्भि ] रदुनानने ॥ १०१ [ १०० ]

श्रीमूलराजप्रभृतिराजपूर्वज [ भू ] भृताम् ।

वर्णवर्णन [ न ] सम्बन्ध पादान्ते श्लोक [ एक ] क [ क ] ॥ १०२ [ १०१ ]

तच्चतुष्क च सर्वान्ते श्लोका [ के ] स्त्रिंशद्विरुद्धता ।

पञ्चाधिकै [ कै ] प्रशस्तिश्च विहिता विहितैस्त [ न ] ॥ १०३ [ १०२ ]

युग्मम् ॥

राज पुर [ जगुरु ] पुरोगैश्च विद्वद्भिर्वांचित तत ।

चक्रे वर्षत्रयर्षेव [ त्रयेणेव ] राज्ञा पुस्तकलेखनो [ नम् ] ॥ १०४ [ १०३ ]

राजादेशास्त्रियुक्तैश्च सर्वस्यानेभ्य त्रि [ उ ] द्यतै ।

दावाहवसर्षक [ समाहृत्यत पत्तने ] लेखकाना शतत्रयम् ॥ १०५ [ १०४ ]

पुस्तका ममलेख्यन्त सर्वदर्शनिना तत ।

प्रत्येकमेवादीयन्ताध्येतृणामुद्यमस्पृशाम् ॥ १०६ [ १०५ ]

विशेषकम् ॥

जङ्ग-वङ्ग-कलिङ्गेषु लाट-कर्णाट-कुङ्गणे ।

महाराष्ट्रसुराष्ट्रासु [ सु ] वछे [ त्स्ये ] कच्छे च मालवे ॥ १०७ [ १०६ ]

सिन्धुसौवीरनेपाले पारासीकसुरण्डयो ।

गङ्गापारे हरिद्वारे कासि-वे [ चे ] दि-गयासु च ॥ १०८ [ १०७ ]

कु ( ह ) रक्षेधे कन्यकुञ्जो गौडश्रीकामरूपयो ।

सपाटलक्षवज्जालन्वरे च खममध्यत ॥ १०९ [ १०८ ]

मि [ सि ] इलेथ महायोधे चौडे मालवकोशिके ।

वृ [ ह ] त्यादिविषद्वेशेषु शास्त्र व्या [ व्य ] स्तार्थत स्फुटम् ॥ ११० [ १०९ ]

चतुर्भिः कलापकम् ॥

अन्येभ्यो [ अन्येषां च ? ] निबन्धानां पुस्तकानां च विवृतिः ।

प्राहीयत नृपेन्द्रेण कस्मिं [ दम्भी ] रिषु महादरात् ॥ १११ [ ११० ]

एतत्तत्र गतः [ त ] शास्त्र स्वीयकोशे निवेशितम् ।

सर्वो निर्वाहयेत्स्वेनादृत देव्यास्तु का कथा ॥ ११२ [ १११ ]

काकलो नाम कायस्थकुलकल्याणदेश्वर ।

अष्टव्याकरणध्वं [ णाध्वे ] ता प्रजाविजितभोगिराट् ॥ ११३ [ ११२ ]

प्रभुस्त दृष्टमात्रेण ज्ञाततत्त्वार्थमस्य व ।

शास्त्रस्य ज्ञापकः [ द् ] [ त्वा ] शु विनयेच्यापकः [ क ] तया ॥ ११४ [ ११३ ]

प्रतिमास स च ज्ञानपञ्चम्यां पृच्छना दधौ ।

राजा च तत्र निर्युहान् [ न ] कद्वगै समभूषयत् ॥ ११५ [ ११४ ]

निष्पन्ना अत्र शास्त्रे च दुकूलस्वर्णभूषणे ।

मुत्सामनातपश्च ते भूपालेन योजितो [ ता ] ॥ ११६ [ ११५ ]

After Verse 76 there is in the MS a part of 78, and after the figure 78 there is 79. I do not think that anything has been dropped out. The second half of Verse 84 is left out, because it is so mutilated in the MS that no sense comes out of it. The remark in Verse 93 that the servants of Sarasvatī sent Utsahajandita, is probably to be interpreted as meaning that this man was among Jayasimha's ambassadors, and that he was sent home. For according to the *Prabandhacandrikā* XXI 135 Utsaha was already present at Devasūrya and Kumudacandī's dispute, in Vikrama year 1181 as a *pārasarvabāhira*. Therefore he could not have come to Anahīvad at this time which is much later.

32 *Prabandhacandrikā*, pp 114-116, pp 147-148, at the end of the narrative Merutunga gives the first verse of the *Prasasti*. Compare also *Kumārāyudhacarita*, pp 41-42.

33 For the restoration of the 35 verses which glorify the first seven Caulukya kings, I have used, in addition to A Weber's information in the *Katalog der Berliner Sanskrit- und Pāli-Handschriften*, vol II, 1st section, pp 211 220-21, 230-31, 235 242-43, the information in Peterson's *Third Report* and in Pischel's edition of the *Prakrit-Grammatik*, I pp V II p 57, 98-99, 129, as well as a Collation of the Bombay MSS for the first 28 verses, which my friend Kielhorn kindly left with me. The variants of them, mostly very valuable, are designated 'K'.

पाद १ ( आर्या वृत् ) ।

हरिरिव बलिबन्धकरस्त्रिाक्तियुक्तं पिनाकपाणिनिव ।

कमलाश्रयश्च विधिरिव जयति श्रीमूलराजनृप ॥ १ ॥

पाद २ ( आर्या ) ।

पूर्वभवदरारोगोपीहरणस्त्रणादिव ज्वलितमन्यु ।

श्रीमूलराजपुरुषोत्तमोवर्षीद् दुर्मदाभीराट् ॥ २ ॥

पाद ३ ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

चक्रे श्रीमूलराजेन नवः कोपि यशोर्णव ।

परकीर्तिस्त्रवन्तीना न प्रवेशमदत्त य ॥ ३ ॥

पाद ४ ( वसन्ततिलका ) ।

सोऽकण्ठमङ्गलग्नैः कचकर्षणैश्च

वक्त्रास्त्रसुग्धननस्रक्षतकर्मैश्च ।

श्रीमूलराजहस्तभूषतिभिर्विलेखुः

सख्ये च कोपि च शिवाश्च सुरस्त्रिभ्यश्च ॥ ४ ॥

पाद ५ ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

प्राबुद्धं जातेति हे भूपा मा स्म त्यजत काननम् ।  
हरि शेतेत्र नन्वेव मूलराजमहापति ॥ ५ ॥

पाद ६ ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

मूलार्कं श्रूयते शास्त्रे सर्वोक्त्याणकारणम् ।  
अधूना मूलराजस्तु चित्र लोकेषु गीयते ॥ ६ ॥

पाद ७ ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

मूलराजमिभारायो निमग्ने ये महीभुजा ।  
उन्मज्जन्तो<sup>१</sup> विलोक्यन्ते स्वर्गगङ्गाजलेषु ते ॥ ७ ॥

पाद ८ ( उपजाति ) ।

श्रीमूलराजक्षितिपदयबाहु-  
र्विभर्ति पूर्वाचलश्चन्द्रशोभाम् ।  
सकोचयन् वैरिमुत्तामनुजानि  
यस्मिन्नय स्फूर्जति चन्द्रहासे ॥ ८ ॥

पाद ९ ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

असंरुद्धा अपि विर दुष्पहा वैरिभृशृतां ।  
चण्डाश्चामुण्डराजस्य प्रतापशिखिन कणा ॥ ९ ॥

पाद १० ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

श्रीमद्वह्मभराजस्य प्रताप कोपि दुस्मह ।  
प्रसरन् वैरिभूषेषु दीर्घनिद्रामकल्पयत् ॥ १० ॥

पाद ११ ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

श्रीदुर्लभेशशुभणे पादास्तुष्टुविरे<sup>२</sup> न के ।  
लुलझिर्मेदिनीपालैर्वालखिल्यैरिवाग्रत ॥ ११ ॥

पाद १२ ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

प्रतापतपन कोपि मोलराजैर्नवोभवत् ।  
रिपुक्षीमुखपद्माना न सेहे य किल श्रियम् ॥ १२ ॥

पाद १३ ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

कुर्यन् कुन्तलश्रीधिल्य मध्यदेश निपीडयन् ।  
अङ्गेषु विलम्बन् भूमेर्भर्ताभूद् भीमभूपति ॥ १३ ॥

पाद १४ ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

श्रीसीमपूतनोत्सातरजोभिर्वैरिभृशुजाम् ।  
अहो चित्रमवर्धन्त ललाटे जलबिन्दव ॥ १४ ॥

पाद १५ ( अनुष्टुप् ) ।

कर्णं च सिन्धुराज च निर्जित्य युधि दुर्जयम् ।  
श्रीसीमेनाधुना चक्रे महाभारतमन्वया ॥ १५ ॥

पाद १६ ( उपजाति ) ।

दुर्योधनोर्वीपतिजैत्रयाहु-  
गृहीतचेदीशकरोवतीर्ण ।

१. सर्वक MSS

२. So according to K

३. Probably the last Pada stood originally after the first one

४. So according to the MS. of Elph. Coll. ( K )

अनुग्रहीतुम् पुनरेन्दुवर्षं  
श्रीभीमदेव किल सीम एव ॥ १६ ॥

पाद १७ ( आर्या ) ।

अगणितपद्मेपुबल पुद्गलोत्तमचित्तविस्मय<sup>१</sup> जनयन् ।  
रामोल्लासनमूर्ति श्रीवर्ण कर्ण हव जयति ॥ १७ ॥

पाद १८ ( अनुष्टुभ् ) ।

अकृत्रात्मनस्त्रिन्धमभित्त्वा पावनीं गतिम् ।  
मिद्धराज परपुत्रप्रवेशवशिना<sup>१</sup> यथा ॥ १८ ॥

पाद १९ ( अनुष्टुभ् ) ।

मात्रयापयिक<sup>१</sup> क्वचिन्न मृदन्ते जिगीषय<sup>१</sup> ।  
हृत्वीच ह्य धराताय धारानाममपाकृथा ॥ १९ ॥

पाद २० ( शारदलविक्रीडित ) ।

क्षुण्णा क्षोजिशृणामनेककटका भद्राय नारा तन  
कुण्ड भिद्वपते कृताग हृति रे मा रूपग जत्रिया ।  
आरुद्रप्रबलप्रतापदहन सप्रासधारश्चिरान्  
पीत्वा मालपयोपिदधुषटिल हन्तागथेयियते ॥ २० ॥

पाद २१ ( उपजाति ) ।

श्रीविक्रमादित्यनरेश्वरस्य  
त्वया न किं विप्रकृत<sup>१</sup> नरेन्द्र ।  
यदास्यतापी प्रथम गमस्तात ।  
क्षणान्भाहूक्षीरय राजधानीम् ॥ २१ ॥

पाद २२ ( शिखरिणी ) ।

मृदित्वा नो दण्ड समरभुवि वेरिक्षिन्निभुजा  
भुजान्ण्डे नटु कति न नवखण्डी वसुगन्तीम् ।  
यद्वय साम्राज्ये विजयिनि वितृणोय मनसा  
यशो योगीशाना विबन्धि त्वत्कथ गदगम् ॥ २२ ॥

पाद २३ ( शिखरिणी ) ।

जयसम्भार सीमायविजयत्रिप्रेल नितितान ।  
वितानसंक्ष्माण्ड शुचिगुणगण्ड पितितान् ।  
यद्रास्तेजोरूपेणलपन जगन्त्यर्थधुस्मृण  
कृतो यात्रानन्दो निरमति न किं मिद्वनुपति ॥ २३ ॥

पाद २४ ( see above Note 24 ) ।

पाद २५ ( अनुष्टुभ् ) ।

लब्धवलक्षा विपक्षेषु विलक्षास्तपि भागणा ।  
तथापि तव मिद्वेन्द्र गतेत्युक्कपर यश ॥ २५ ॥

पाद २६ ( वसन्ततिलका ) ।

उत्साहसाहसवता भवता नरेन्द्र  
धाराघन किमपि तद्विषम सिषैवे ।  
यस्याफल न खलु मालवमात्रमेव  
श्रीपर्वनोपि तव कन्दुककेलिपात्रम् ॥ २६ ॥



पाद २७ ( मालिनी ) ।

अयमवनिपतीन्दो मालवेन्द्रावरोध-  
स्तनकलशपवित्र पतवर्णी लुनातु ।  
क्वथमखिलमहीभृन्मौलिनागिक्यभेदे  
घटयति पटिमान भग्नधाम्मवासि ॥ २७ ॥

पाद २८ ( मालिनी ) ।

क्षितिधर भवदीय क्षीरधारावलक्षे  
रिपुविजयशोभि श्वेत एवासिदण्ड ।  
किमुन कवलितैस्ते कजलैर्मालवीनां  
परिणतमहिमान कालिमान तनोति ॥ २८ ॥

पाद २९ ( शार्दूलविक्रीडित ) ।

यद् दोर्मण्डलकुण्डलीकृतपनुर्गुणेन मिद्धाधिप  
क्रीत धेरिकुलावय्या विल दग्धकुन्दावदात यदा ।  
भान्वा श्रीणि जगन्ति खेदविवश तन् मालवीना व्यधाद्  
आपाण्डौ मनमण्डले च धवले गण्डस्थलेऽस्थितिम् ॥ २९ ॥

पाद ३० ( उपेन्द्रवज्रा ) ।

द्विपन्तुरोदविनोदहेतोर-  
भवाद्यपामस्य भवद्भुजस्य ।  
अथ विद्रोयो भुवनैकवीर  
पर न यत् काममपावरोति ॥ ३० ॥

पाद ३१ ( शार्दूलविक्रीडित ) ।

उध्वं स्वर्गमिकेतनादपि तले पातालमूलादपि  
स्वन्कीर्तिर्भ्रमति क्षिणीश्वरमणेऽपारे पयोधेरपि ।  
तेनास्या प्रमदास्वभावसुलभैरचावचैश्चापलेस्  
ते पाचयन्वृत्तयोपि मुनयो मानयन् त्याजित ॥ ३१ ॥

पाद ३२ ( वसन्तनिलका ) ।

आसीद्विद्रापतिरमुद्रचतु समुद्र-  
मुद्राङ्कितक्षितिभरक्षमवाहुदण्ड ।  
श्रीमूलराज इति दुर्धरैरतिकुम्भि-  
रुण्ठीग्व शुचिचुलुक्यकुलावतम ॥ ३२ ॥  
तस्यान्वये समजनि प्रबलप्रताप-  
तिग्मश्रुति क्षीतिपतिर्जयसिहदेव ।  
येन स्ववशमवितर्यपर मुयाशौ  
श्रीमिद्वराज इति नाम मित्र न्यलेति ॥ ३३ ॥  
सम्यग् निषेव्य चतुरश्रतुरोप्युपायान्  
जित्वापभुज्य च भुव चतुरब्धिकाङ्क्षिम् ।  
विद्याचतुष्टयविनीतमतिर्जितात्मा  
काष्ठामवाप पुरुषार्थचतुष्टये य ॥ ३४ ॥  
तेनातिविस्तृतदुरागमविप्रकीर्णा-  
शब्दानुनामनमस्युहकदर्थितेन ।  
अभ्यर्थितो निरवम विधिवद् व्यधत्स  
शब्दानुनासनमिद मुनिहेमचन्द्र ॥ ३५ ॥

## TRANSLATION

1 The King, Śrī Mūlarāja, is victorious, who, establishing the oblation, is like Hari, who chained Bali ( बलिबन्धक )—who, endowed with three ( royal ) powers ( शक्ति ), is like the Bearer of Pināka accompanied by ( the goddess ) Trisakti,—who, the refuge of Kamalā, is like Brahman whose Throne is lotus ( Kamula )

Note The three powers of the king originate from his majesty, energy and incarnation. As regards the goddess Trisakti see Anuecht *Orf Lat* p. 59. The third simile used in the verse is already found in Mūlarāja's gift of land, see *Induān Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 191.

2 Brought with anger as if through remembering the abduction of the Gopīs, his wives in an earlier life, Śrī Mūlarāja, ( an incarnation of ) Purusottama, killed the haughty Ābhira

Note Mūlarāja killed, as is described in the *Dvayāśraya* ( *Induān Antiquary*, vol. IV, pp. 74-77 ) Gādhira, the Ābhira king of Sorath, who was alleged to be an incarnation of Narakāsura. The latter had stolen a lot of shepherd-sons whom Kṛṣṇa released and married, see H. H. Wilson's *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, vol. V, pp. 87-92, 104 ( ed. F. E. Hall )

3 Śrī Mūlarāja has created from his fame a new type of an ocean which prohibits entry to the rivers of renown of his enemies

4 As the jacks entertained themselves on the battlefield with the princes killed by Śrī Mūlarāja, even so did the Apsaras in heaven through passionate physical embraces, through hugging, through kissing the lotus-face, ( and ) through inflicting wounds by nails

Note The last words describe, in relation to the Apsaras, the *bāhya sambhoga* as presented in the *Kāmasāstra*

5 Do not leave the forest o' princes, thinking 'the rainy season has set in!' Does not it bear a lion—the great king Mūlarāja!

Note The princes who defeated by Mūlarāja had fled into the forest, might think that the danger was over on account of the impossibility of military operations during the rainy season. They were, however, to realise that Mūlarāja's lion-like energy would enable him to find them out

6 It is heard in the Śānti that the Mūla-gun is the root of evil. And yet what a wonder that now the Mūla-king is pinned in the three worlds!

Note The conjunction of the sun with the Mūla spells destruction, as surely this moon-house, whose protecting deity is Nārāyaṇa, works only evil

7 The princes, who are drowned in the water of Mūlarāja's swords, are seen emerging in the floods of the heavenly Gaṅgā

8 The aim of Śrī Mūlarāja, on which this sword sparkles, possesses the beauty of the peak of the eastern mountain, on which the moonlight shines. It deforms the face of the enemies, ( as this deforms ) the day-lotuses

9 The grim sparks of the fire of the strength of the king Cāmunda are, although not handled for a long time, still unbearable to enemy-princes

Note I think this means even though Cāmunda has been dead for a long time the memory of his power is still painful to his enemies

10 An unbearable heat ( of power ) was that of the king Śrīmad Vallabha, when it attacked the enemy-kings, it caused ( them ) a long sleep ( of death )

11 who among the lords of the earth, like the *Vāṇakulavyas*, has not praised the feet of the sun-like king Durubha, while yallowing (?) before the latter?

Note The kings are compared to the *Vāṇakulavyas* in order to suggest that they, like the latter, are as dwarfs compared with Durubha. The conjugation of *lul-* according to the sixth class does not agree with the rule given by Pāṇini. In Hemacandra's *Dhātuprāśāna* also, the verb is not found amongst those of the sixth class. *Lulāḥḥah* is probably either a scribal error for *lulāḥḥah*, or else Hemacandra has made himself guilty of a Prakriticism.

12 Of a novel type was the sun of majesty of Mūlaṭha's offspring for it does not tolerate the beauty of the day-lotuses, (viz.) the faces of the women of his enemies.

Note Bhūma I is probably meant by the offspring of Mūlaṭha.

13 King Bhūma became the husband of the earth in making the Kuruṇḍ empire loose, he loosened her hair-locks (*kuṇṭala*), is in suppressing the Madhyadesa he pressed the middle portion (*madhyadesa*) of her body, (and) is in sporting in the land of Angas he enjoyed her body (*anga*).

Note These victories of king Bhūma are not mentioned in the *Dvayāśrayakūṭa*, hence they may be poetic fictions invented for the sake of introducing figures of speech.

14 The dust which the army of Śrī Bhūma raised increased the wretchedness of the forlorn dead of the enemy kings o what a wonder!

15 Śrī Bhūma has now recast the Mahābhārata inasmuch as he has won Kuruṇḍ (also) Sindharāja who was hard to be conquered in a battle.

Note According to the *Dvayāśrayakūṭa* Bhūma I defeated Kuruṇḍ the king of Cedi or Dāhala, and Hammuka the prince of Sindh. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX pp. 114, 212. Bhūma of the epic often conquered Karna. *Mahābhārata* VII, 181, 173, 179. However the latter was killed by Arjuna. *Mahābhārata* VIII, 11. The epic Sindhu prince Jayadratha also was killed by Arjuna. *Mahābhārata* VII, 146.

16 Śrī Bhūmadeva whose aim conquered the kings who were hard to be fought against (*दुर्घोर्धनोर्ध्वपति*), and who took tribute (*कर*) from the Cedi prince is met by the Bhūma, whose aim, conquered Duryodhana and who seized the hands (*कर*) of the Cedi prince and who has come down in order to favour again the Moon race.

Note The Caulukyas or Solankis of Anhilvāḍ belonged to the Moon race: see below verse 33 and the *Dvayāśrayakūṭa*, *passim* and the Pindavas were also the descendants of Pāṇḍu.

17 Victorious is Śrī Karna who did not mind the strength of the 'god with the five arrows', who generated wonder in the minds of best men, whose form possessed bright splendour and who, therefore, is like Karna who did not mind the strong (heroes) with five arrows, who generated wonder in the heart of Puruṣottama whose form possessed lovely splendour.

Note In the *Ratnamālā* (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. IX, p. 37) we read "His (Bhūma's) son Karna was of fair complexion." The beauty of the form of the epic Karna is described in the *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 91, 60-61. Puruṣottama or Kṛṇa was Arjuna's character in the fight against Karna. "The five strong-of-the-arrow" are the five sons of Pandu. The assertion that king Karna despised the power of the Love-god is probably an unjustified piece of flattery. For in the *Ratnamālā*, loc. cit., we read of him "He was lustful."

18. (a) Without making a long stop in a camp, without interrupting the wind-like speed of the march, Siddharāja attained the capacity to enter the city of the enemy.

(b) Without much perseverance in the ascetic postures, without interrupting the movement of respiration, Siddharāja attained the power of entering the body of other beings.

**Note** The verse has a double meaning. On the one hand, Siddharāja is described as a fortunate conqueror with particular reference to the conquest of Ujjain. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p. 266. He is complimented, on the other hand, upon having attained one of the goals of Yoga without following the ascetic practices. The *parapurāṇas* etc. are described in detail by Hemacandra in the *Yogasūtra* V, 264-272. The second meaning of *abhattā pāvaniṁ gulim* is *prāṇāyāman ah, tvā*.

19. Those aiming at victory do not tolerate any one who is superior to them even by the length of a vowel. It is therefore that thou o lord of the earth (*dhārā*), hast driven away the lord of Dhārā.

**Note** The lord of Dhārā is Yaśovarman whom Siddharāja took captive.

20. O warriors! Do not think that the sword of the king Siddhi is now blunt because it has killed many mimics of the (enemy) kings and consequently Dhārā (both the city and the edge of the sword) is broken. Ah, it will still be stronger as on it a mighty fire of strength is kindled, as it has won Dhārā (both the city and the edge) after it had drunk for long the water of tears of the Mālava women.

**Note** The second half of the verse affirms that the sword is forged over again.

21. How much harm hast thou not o lord of men, wrought to the king Vikramāditya! First thou hast robbed him of his fame then hast destroyed his capital in a moment.

**Note** Jayasinha robbed Vikramāditya's fame, as he was still more generous than the famous king of Ujjain, compare below verse 25.

22. How many have not held in a strong arm the earth having nine parts, after they have driven away the tickling of the might of the hostile ruler on the battlefield? That thou, o king enjoyest the fame of the lords among the ascetics on account of thy mind free from greed even though possessing so rich an empire, to whom is this similar?

**Note** The verse confirms the account of the *Prabandhas* about Jayasinha's philosophical studies.

23. Victory-pillars he has erected on his frontiers, on the shore of the ocean, he has covered "Brahman's Egg" with a canopy which is very valuable because of the brilliant texture—(of his) brilliant virtues, he has embued the world with excellent saffron in the form of his fame, he has celebrated a pilgrimage—last, why does the king Siddhi not yet rest?

**Note** Although *yatrā* is a word with two meanings, it can only mean 'pilgrimage' here. For there has already been mention of Jayasinha's warlike undertakings. Besides these, the author wishes to emphasize the piety of the king, just as in the previous verse. As regards the point as to which pilgrimage is meant, see above page 16.

24. See above page 13 of the text.

25. With the enemies the *mārgaras* attain their aim, with thee they miss it. Notwithstanding this, thy fame of generosity rises high above the napes, o king Siddhi.

**Note** *mārgara* means both 'a beggar' and an 'arrow'.

26. Thou, o king, possessor of zeal and enterprise, hast completed a difficult venture, the vow of taking *dhārā*, through which not only Mālava was thy reward but also Śrīparvata as toy.

**Note** *Dhārāvratā* is put instead of the more usual *asadhārāvratā* for the sake of a word-play on the name of the town *Dhārā*, nothing is said in the *Prabandhas* or in the *Duṣṣṛṅga* about the conquest of a hill fortress, Śrīparvata. Perhaps the word is not meant to be read as a proper name but means only "a hill of riches".

27. This sword of thine, Moon, amongst princes, may destroy the face-decoration, which has been sanctified through the round breasts of the wives of the Mālava-king. How can it possess

sharpness as *Dhārā* ( the City and the edge ) is destroyed by the cracking of the carbuncle-stone on the heads of all princes ?

28 Lord of earth, is thy strong sword white from the fame of victory, shining like a milk-stream, over enemies ? Or is it colored deep-black from the swallowed eye-ointment of the Mālava-women ?

29, With the bow bent in a ring by an encompassing arm, thou winnest, king Siddha, thy fame which shines white like the blooming Jasmine—that rested itself, worn out from wondering through the three worlds, on the pale round breasts of the Mālava-women and on their pale cheeks

Note For the last part of the verse, Compare *Navaśikhaśāṅkharā* XI 100 where, too, the paleness of the women caused by care and anxiety is identified with the fame of the conqueror. See also Pischel, *Hem Prāk. Gram*, vol II, p. 57

30 Between Bhava, who caused joy by destroying the three fortified cities of his enemies ( the Asuras ) and thy right hand, who caused joy by destroying the fortified cities of ( thy ) enemies, the difference is, o only hero of the world, that this one does not refuse ( to grant even ) strange wishes ( *param kāmam nāpikuroti* ) while that one destroyed the greatest god of love ( *param kāmam apikuroti* )

Note Compare Pischel, *loc cit*, p. 99

31 Even above the heavenly palaces, even under the undermost ground of the hell, even beyond the ocean, thy fame wanders, o Jewel among the princes. Therefore, her various frivolities which are common to the feminine nature has enticed the ascetics, even the restraints of speech to break the vow of silence

Note Cf Pischel, *loc cit*, p. 119, who erroneously divides *te nāśyāt* in the text missing thereby the meaning of the second half of the verse. Weber has rightly given *ten āśyāt*, i. e. *tena āśyāt* ( scil. *kīrtih* )

32, It was once a prince among men named Śrī Malarāja, a lion for the irresistible enemy-elephants, an ornament of the pure Caulukya-race, whose strong arm was capable to carry the burden of the earth bounded by the four unmeasurable oceans

Note Or, ' a lion for ( those ) elephants, his enemies hard to be conquered

33, In his race was born the king Jayasimhadeva, a sun of the most powerful majesty, who inscribed his other name Śrī-Siddharāja in the moon—the procreator of his race

Note The Caulukyas belong to the moon-race, see above verse 16. The spots in the moon are often explained by poets as *prasāstas* of their patrons

34 He, the clever one, employed all the four means ( of politics ), he conquered and enjoyed ( the possession ) of the earth encircled by the four oceans, through ( the study of ) four sciences he formed his understanding, he mastered his own self. In this way he attained the aim through the four kinds of endeavors of men.

Note As regards the four branches of science which Jayasimha studied, compare *Manu* VII, 43

35 Requested by him, who was tortured by the mass of the sciences of words which were too long, too difficult to be studied and scattered ( all over the world ), the monk Hemacandra composed this science of words according to the rules, that is not the last ( in rank )

Note *Durāgama* 'difficult to be studied' can also mean "teaching what is wrong" "According to the rules", that is, in such a way that it consisted, with the *Unādisūtra*, the *Ganapāṭha*, the *Dhātupāṭha*, the *Langānusāsana*, of five parts, and formed a *pañcāṅgam vyākaranam*, as required by usage

34. About Hemacandra's Grammar, see Kielhorn, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. II, p. 18, Pischel's remarks in the Preface to his edition of the *Adhyāya VIII*, and the description of the MSS in A. Weber's *Katalog der Sanskrit-und Prakrit-Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, and about the allusions to the historical events of Jayasinha's time in the examples of the Commentary, see Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII, p. 267. Hemacandra's Commentary written by himself exists in two versions, the *Brhatī* and the *Logha Vitti*. Both are authentic. Besides the fact that both commentaries contain the examples and the *Prasasti*, the following may also be given as a proof of their authenticity. Devendra, a pupil of Hemacandra's pupil Udayacandra, wrote, possibly still during Hemacandra's lifetime, but certainly before 1214 A. D., a Commentary to the *Brhatī Vitti* under the name *Kativedhāgapulavākyā*. There are MSS. of this work in Berlin, see Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 237, cf. 233, 240. A palm-leaf MS. of the same, which is in the *Bhāṣṣānāṣa* in Jodhpur, was written about forty years after Hemacandra's death. According to my notes, the beginning reads as follows —

॥ अहं ॥ प्रणम्य केवलालोकावलोकितजगद्भयम् ।  
जिनेश श्रीनिन्दहेमचन्द्रशब्दानुशासने ॥ १ ॥  
शब्दविधाविदा वन्दोदयचन्द्रोपदेशत ।  
व्यासत कतिचिद्वर्गपदव्याख्याभिधीयते ॥ २ ॥

and the end, fol. 186 व्याकरणचतुष्कावचूणिकाया पद्य पाद समाप्त । प्रथमपुस्तिका प्रमाणीकृता ॥  
संवत् १२७१ वर्षे कार्तिक शुद्धि पक्षे शुके श्रीनरचन्द्रसूरीणा आदेशन प. The date corresponds to the 10th October, 1214 a Friday

As regards the *Logha Vitti*, the oldest MS. preserved in the Cambay Library, was written during Hemacandra's lifetime, V. S. 1223, *bhāṣṣāpādī and śā baddhā*, see Peterson, *First Report*, App., pp. 70-71. In the MSS. used by Pischel for his edition of the Prakrit-Grammar, the *Logha Vitti* bears the title *Prakāśika*, which is otherwise often missing.

The *Dharmadhikā*, or etymological explanation of the words occurring in the Commentary, was not written by Hemacandra, in spite of the fact that it is sometimes ascribed to him in the Colophon of the Pādas. The *Dharmadhikā* to the Sanskrit-Grammar (Weber, *loc. cit.* p. 238) originated with Vidyacandra that to the Prakrit-Grammar is by Udayasambhagayagaṇi (*Deccan College Collection* 1873/74 No. 276). The latter also contains a Sanskrit translation of all the Prakrit verses which are quoted in the Commentary.

35. See Kielhorn's Essays in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, *loc. cit.*, and in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, pp. 181, cf. also O. Franke, *Langensassana*, p. XIV. As regards the Grammar of Buddhagata, which Hemacandra used, I may add that this work exists. There is a palm-leaf MS. of it, written in the 13th century, in the *Bhāṣṣānāṣa* in Jodhpur. According to the verse of the *Prabhuvaṣaṇa*, quoted by Klatt, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 243, Note 20, the work contains eight thousand *Granthas*. Buddhagata lived at the beginning of the 11th century, as is shown by the reports given by Klatt, *loc. cit.*, from the *Pattivāṇi* of *Khartara-gaccha*. Therefore he is the oldest known grammarian of the Svetāmbaras.

36. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XV, p. 32

37. Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary*, *loc. cit.*, Weber, *Katalog der Berliner Sanskrit-und Prakrit-Handschriften*, vol. II, 1st section, p. 254, where verse 5 of the *Prasasti* and the colophon read as follows —

षट्कर्कशमिति कश्चिद्वर्त  
शब्दानुशासनमहामुखिपाटला ।  
शिष्यामुजग्रकण[ज]म्भवचित्रभातुः  
कण्डह एव सुकृती जयति विरायाम् ॥ ५ ॥

इति पण्डितपुण्डरीकेन श्रीकच्छोपदेशेन तत्त्वप्रकाशिका वृत्तिः श्रीदेवसूरिपादपञ्चोपजीविना गुणचन्द्रेण स्वपरोपकारार्थं श्रीहेमचन्द्रव्याकरणाभिप्रायेण प्राणादि ॥

The correction in the third Pāda is by Weber. As regards the name Kākala-Kakkala-Kākalin, compare that of the last Rāstākūta-king of Mānyakheta, who, in the inscriptions, is called Karka, Kēka, Kakkara or Kakkala see Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 38. It may further be mentioned that, according to the *Prabandhacintāmanī*, p. 169, Kākala was present at Devasūri's disputation and solved, by a reference from Sākātiyana's Grammar, the question of whether the form *koṭi* for *koṭ* would be correct. The *Prabhāvakacaritra* attributes the same feat to Utsāhapandita.

38 See *Abhūthānacintāmanī* verse 1 (ed. Bohtlingk and Biehl) *Anukūṭīthakosa* I, 1 (Benares Edition). *Chandanas'āsana*, Weber *Catubhūgi*, vol. II p. 268. Neither in the *Chandanas'āsana* nor in the *Alankāracūṭīkāmanī* are we told that the *Koṣas* were completed. They only speak of the *Sabdānus'āsana*, just as in the Introduction to the *Abhūthānacintāmanī*. If one does not wish to assume that Hemacandra wrote the *Koṣas* and the Rhetorics at the same time, then it is probable that he regarded the *Koṣas* as belonging to the Etymology, and therefore did not think it necessary to make special mention of them. This is suggested also by the *Prabhāvakacaritra*. The *Sabdānus'āsana* is mentioned in the *Alankāracūṭīkāmanī* I, 2.

शब्दानुशासनेत्यामि. साम्प्रत्यो वाचो विवेचिता ।

तात्पर्यामिदानीं काव्येष्वप्यथावदनुशिष्यते ॥ २ ॥

In the Commentary written by himself, Hemacandra remarks

... अनेन शब्दानुशासनकाव्यानुशासनयोरैककर्तृत्वम् चाह । अत एव हि प्रायोगिकमन्यसिवा नारभ्यते ।

To the "others" there belongs, for instance, Vāmana who enunciates the ungrammatical forms prevalent among the poets.

39 *Prabandhacintāmanī*, p. 148

तथा च सिद्धराजदिविजयवर्णने आश्रयनामा ग्रन्थः कृतः ।

For the *Dvayāsraya*, I have before me, besides the oft-quoted, very good extract of K. Forbes in the 4th vol. of *Indian Antiquary*,—a MS. of the Vienna University Library, which contains the first ten *Sargas* besides the Commentary of Abhayatilaka.

40 *Jour. Bo. Br. I. A. Sec.*, vol. IX, p. 37

41 *Prabhāvakacaritra* XXII, 130-140 (129-139), *Prabandhacintāmanī*, pp. 155-156. About Rāmacandra, see page 50. Before this story there is, in the *Prabhāvakacaritra* XXII, 117-129 a story of a bard, who praised Hemacandra in an *Apabhramśa*-verse and received a large reward for it. Merutunga, *Prab. Cint.* pp. 235-236, relates something similar, which is supposed to have happened during Kumārapāla's reign.

42. *Prabhāvakacaritra* XXII, 141-173 (140-172)

43. *Prabhāvakacaritra* XXII, 174-183 (173-182), *Prabandhacintāmanī* p. 205. Puṇḍita Āmiga is a historical personage and is mentioned by his grandson Somesvara in the *Śivabhāṣana*, Bhāudarkar, *Report on the Search etc.* 1883/4, p. 20. It is not said there which king he served. However, the probability is that he lived under Kumārapāla.

Hemacandra's simile was, according to the *Prabhāvakacaritra*, contained in the following verses—

सिंहो बली इति युक्तामांसमोजी  
सर्वस्वरेण रसिमेति किलैकवारम् ।

पारावत खलशिलाकणभोजनोपि  
कामी भवत्यनुदिन वद कोप्र हेतु ॥

Meutunga has, in the first Pāṇi, the variant *drachasūlata*, in the second, *vataṁ lachakavāṇa*. A still more varying reading is to be found in Böhtlingk's *Indisches Sprachat* No 7044. To my knowledge there is no incontrovertible proof that the verse belongs to Hemacandra.

44 *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* XXII, 184-380. The verse which Devabodhi is supposed to have composed in honour of Hemacandra reads -

पातु यो हेमगोपाल रुम्बल दण्डमुद्वहम् ।  
पद्मदर्शनपद्मप्राम चारयन् जनगोचरे ॥

The same also occurs in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 227, where the first half is attributed to a poet Viśveśvara from Benares and the second half to King Kumārajāla. As regards Devabodhi, see page 39 and Note 78.

45 *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* XXII 311-355. Hemacandra's worship of Ambikā is orthodox, as this is worshipped as Śiśanalevītī by all Jains. The verses which Hemacandra is supposed to have addressed to Śiva are given below, Note 61.

46 *Kumārāpālacarita* pp. 55-57.

47 About the pilgrimage, see *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, pp. 160-161. About the story of Sappana, *ibid.* pp. 159-160. The verse in honour of Śiva is to be found, *ibid.* p. 213.

48 *Indiān Antiquary*, vol. IV p. 267.

49 *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, pp. 156-157.

आयुक्त प्राणतो लोके वियुक्तो मुनिवत्सल ।  
समुक्तो सर्वयानिए केवली छीपु वहल ॥

50 *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, pp. 173-175.

51 *Kumārāpālacarita* pp. 37-38. The narrative has here the usual form of the Jaina-parables. The place of the action is Sankhupura, the merchant is called Saṅkha, and his wife Yaśomatī. There is no talk of a courtesan, but the merchant takes a second wife, because he no longer loves the first one. There are also some Sanskrit and Prakrit verses woven in.

52 This second Hemacandra, who is often confused with Guṇa of Kumārajāla, was the pupil of Abhayadeva who founded the line of the Mahadhāra, and belonged to the Prasannāhaṇakula, Madhyamāsūkhā and the Hanspurīya Cāccha. Sometimes this Hemacandra is therefore called simply Mahadhāra-Hemacandra. He wrote

(1) *Jinasamāsa*, a Prakrit work with a Sanskrit Commentary. Peterson, *First Report*, App. I p. 18 and Kiehlhorn, *Report of 1880-1881*, App. p. 93, No. 151. The Cambay MS was written by the author himself in V. S. 1164. Dr. Peterson in his notes, *Report*, p. 63, attributed it erroneously to the grammarian Hemacandra and I, equally erroneously, agreed with this view in my criticism.

(2) *Bhavanabhāvanā*, a Prakrit work with a Sanskrit Commentary, which was completed in V. S. 1170, see Peterson, *Third Report*, App. I, pp. 155-156, especially verses 6-11 of the *Prasasti*.

(3) *Uvasesamūhi*, a Prakrit work, Peterson, *First Report*, App. I p. 91, to which there perhaps also belongs a Sanskrit Commentary written by the author himself, Peterson, *Third Report*, p. 176.

(4) *S'atavartti Vinayakā*, a Sanskrit Commentary on a Prakrit work of Śivas'arma-Sūri.



( 5 ) *Anuyogasūtrāṭīkā*, Peterson, *Third Report*, App. I, pp. 36-37, Weber, *Katalog*, vol. II, 2nd section, p. 694

( 6 ) *Sisyaśikṣā vṛttih*, a Sanskrit Commentary on Jambhadrās *Iśvarṇya* to the *Āraś'yasūtra*, Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 787

It is to be noted that the Jambh. themselves do not attribute the above-named works to the Guru of Kumārapāla, and that they therefore know quite well of the existence of two contemporaries of the same name. That Hemacandra, the pupil of Abhiyadeva, went to Siddharāja's court, is mentioned by Devaprabha in verse 3 of the *Prasasti* to his *Pāndaravānātha* (Peterson *Third Report*, App. I, p. 153), where we read "On his ( Abhiyadevas ) seat there appeared the celebrated Hemasūri, a moon amongst the best, whose speech-nectar the illustrious king Siddharāja drank." Between Devaprabha and Hemacandra there were, as the *Prasasti* further tells us, three generations of teachers, and Devaprabha therefore probably had lived in the 13th century. A more distant member of the same school is Rājas'ekhara, author of the *Prabandhaśloka*, who wrote at about the end of the 14th century (see above Note 3). In the *Prasasti* to his Commentary to Śiddhanta's *Nyāyakośadālī*, Peterson, *Third Report*, App. I, p. 274, he describes Hemacandra Abhiyadevas' pupil, as follows -

( 8 ) "Endowed with many virtues was the Sūri named Śrī Hemacandra, author of one hundred thousand Ślokas, who won him for the Nigraṇthas."

( 9 ) "He awakened Siddha, the husband of the earth, and caused ( by him ) all the temples of his own and of other kingdoms to be adorned with flagstaffs and golden knobs."

( 10 ) "In consequence of his teaching, Prince Siddha had the command engraved, on copper-plates, that all creatures were to be spared during eighty days in each year."

54 Peterson, *Third Report*, App. I, p. 95, verse 9 of the *Prasasti* of the *Anantavarmanacarya*. The author, Munmatna, wrote his work in V. S. 1252 and was a pupil of Samudraghosa.

55 The forefathers of Kumārapāla are mentioned by Hemacandra in the *Dryās'raya*, *Indian Antiquary*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 232, 235, 267, and we read in the first passage that *Kṣemavarmā* renounced the throne voluntarily as he cherished ascetic tendencies. The *Prabandhaśloka* XXII 354-355 gives a part of the genealogical table which agrees with that of the *Dryās'raya*. We read there -

इत श्रीकर्मभूपालः[६]पु शे[६]त्रशिरोमणि ।

देवप्रसाद इत्यासीत् प्रासाद इव सम्पदाम् ॥ ३५४ ॥

तपु [त्र ] श्र[त्री]विभुवनपाल[ ] पालितम[स]इत ।

कुमारपालस्तपुयो राजगल्लक्ष्णलक्षित ॥ ३५५ ॥

Meuntniga, *Prabandhaśloka*, p. 191, diverges, as he gives the following order - ( 1 ) Bhima I, ( 2 ) Haripāla, ( 3 ) Tribhuvanapāla ( 4 ) Kumārapāla. It is only in his work that one finds the report that Kumārapāla's ancestor was the son of a courtesan named Cauladevi. In spite of the fact that this statement originates with a later source, it may nevertheless be correct, as it explains in a simple manner the aversion of Jayasinha towards Kumārapāla. If Hemacandra says nothing about it, this has not much significance, as he could not reproach his patron with his illegitimate descent. Jinamandana, *Kumārapālacarya* p. 8, says that Bhima's first wife ( *vaidhāt* ) Cakuladevi was the mother of Kṣemarāja, and that the latter renounced the throne for love of his younger brother. He gives the genealogical table, p. 43, exactly the same as Hemacandra, and he adds that Kumārapāla's mother was a Kāśmīri princess ( *Kāśmīradēvi* ). The latter is more probable than the assumption of an anonymous historical fragment ( Bhāṇḍārkar, *Report etc 1882/4*, No. 11 ) that she was the sister of Jayasinha-Siddharāja. A marriage of this nature within the same family is not allowed with Rājputs, and does not occur. Jayasinha's enmity towards Kumārapāla gives Jinamandana, p. 58, reason to assert that the king had hoped still to obtain a son through Śiva's grace after having cleared Kumārapāla out of the way. Hemacandra, probably because he wrote as a court-poet, makes no mention of

Jayasinha's hatred towards Kumārapāla, in the *Dnyāṣṛaya*. The story, too, of Kumārapāla's flight and wanderings only occurs in the *Prabhāvakācārītra*, in Meintunga and in later Prabandhātāras. However, there is, in favour of the correctness of this narrative, a verse of the *Moharājaparijaya* (Kielhorn, *Report 1880/81*, p. 34), who we read: "To whom is this prince of the Gūṇjais, the banner of the Caulukya-race, not known, he who through curiosity wandered alone through the whole world?" etc. Here we have a distinct reference to Kumārapāla's wanderings. As Yaśahpāla wrote in Ajayapāla's reign immediately after Kumārapāla's death, his testimony has great value. Kumārapāla's coronation took place certainly in the Vikrama-year 1199, as the *Prabandhas* assert, as Hemacandra (see below, Note 66) gives a similar statement in the *Mahāvīracarita*. The oldest inscription of his reign is that of Mangrol-Maṅgalapura, which is dated in the year 1202, *Bhāṇuśaṅkharī Prācīn Sāhityasamgraha*, pp. 1-10. The day of the event is, according to Merutunga's *Vaṭṭasānti*, Mārgaśīrṣa sudi 4, but according to the *Prabandhas* and *Udayana* of the same author, p. 194, it is Kārttika vadi 2, Sunday under the Nakṣatra Hṛstā. Jinamallina *Kumārapāla-carita*, pp. 58 and 83, names Mārgaśīrṣa sudi 4, Sunday.

56 *Prabhāvakācārītra* XXII, 356-417

57 *Prabandhas* *Udayana*, pp. 192-195

58 *Kumārapāla-carita*, pp. 41-54. The sermon, adorned with many alleged quotations from the Brahmanical literature, is given in full.

59 *Kumārapāla-carita*, pp. 55-83. The meeting of Hemacandra and Udayana is described on pp. 66-70.

60 *Prabhāvakācārītra* XXII, 417-505. The extract is very much lengthened by the insertion of several, mostly irrelevant, tales. In his first speech to the king, 429-456, Vāgbbhaṭi weaves in the story of the death of his father Udayana, who accompanied Kumārapāla's brother Kirtipāla on a campaign against Navaghana, the king of Samāṣṭi and fell in battle. Then the last campaign against Amorīja, and the decisive battle are very fully described and the description is much lengthened by the story of an attack tried by Vikramasinha, the Parāṇāṭi king of Candravatī and Abū against Kumārapāla. The passage relating to Hemacandra's call, and to the conversion of Kumārapāla is as follows:—

अन्येषु वाग्भटमात्रं धर्मात्यन्तकवामन ।  
अष्टद्विंशतिवारोपदेष्टारं गुरुं नृप ॥ ५८१ ॥  
सुरे[ ] श्रीहियम[हेम]चन्द्रस्य गुणगौरवसारभ[म्] ।  
आख्यदक्ष्याम[त्] विद्योद्यमध्यामो[भ्याम्] प्रशमश्रिय ॥ ५८२ ॥  
शीघ्रमाहूयतामुक्तो[क्ति] राज्ञः वाग्भटमग्निना ।  
राजवेशम[न्य]नीयन्त सूरयो बहुमानत ॥ ५८३ ॥  
अभ्युत्थाय महीशेनं दत्तासन्धु[सना उ]पाविशन् ।  
राजाह सु[सु]गुरो धर्मं दिशं जैनं तमोदहम् ॥ ५८४ ॥  
अथ हव[त्] च[ ] दयामूलमाचख्यो स मुनीश्वर ।  
असत्यमेतत्ताम्रहपतिग्रहविवर्जनम् ॥ ५८५ ॥  
मिशामोजनमुक्तिश्च मासाहारस्य हेयता ।  
शुनिस्सुलित्सिद्धान्विनियामकशतै[र] ददा ॥ ५८६ ॥

उक्तं वा योगशास्त्रे ॥ [प्रकाश ३, १८-२२] ...  
इत्यादिसर्षदेयानां परित्यागमुपादिशन् ।  
तथेति यति[कृत्वा] जग्राह तेषां च नियमादृप ॥ ५९२ ॥  
श्रीचैत्यवन्दनस्तोत्र[म्] स्तुतिमुख्यमधीतवान् ।  
वदन्वाक्षामणालोच्यप्रतिक्रमणकान्यसि[?] ॥ ५९३ ॥

प्रत्याख्यानानि सर्वाणि तथागा[गम] विचारिका[कां] ।  
 नित्यब्रह्मनमाधान्(?) पर्वत्वेकाक्षन तथा ॥ ५९४ ॥  
 मा[खो]त्राचारप्रकार चारात्रिकस्याप्यशिक्षते[त] ।  
 जैन विधिं समभ्यस्य चिरश्रावकवद बभौ[भा] ॥ ५९५ ॥

61 In the *Prabandhaacintāmaṇi*, pp 195-197, Kumārāpāla's battles with his rebellious counsellors are described, on pp 197-199 the campaign against Arnorāja and the rewarding of his benefactors, on pp 200-201 the adventures of the singer Sollaka, on pp 201-203 the war against Mallikājuna and his fall, on pp 203-206 Hemacandra's introduction to Kumārāpāla's court and the events immediately following it, on pp 207-217 the building of the temple of Śiva Somanātha, the pilgrimage to Devapattana and the conversion of the king. Udayana's account of Hemacandra's youth is pushed into the latter tale on pp 207-211 see above page 7. The verses which Hemacandra is supposed to have composed in honour of Śiva, read on p. 213 is follows —

यत्र तत्र त्वमये यथा तथा  
 योमि सोऽस्मिभ्रया यथा तथा ।  
 वीतदोषकलुष स चेज भवान्  
 एक एव भगवन् नमोस्तु ते ॥ १ ॥  
 भवभीताङ्गरजनना रागाद्या क्षयमुपागता यस्य ।  
 मम्या वा विष्णुर्वा महेश्वरो वा नमस्स्यै ॥ २ ॥

They are the same as were composed, according to the *Prabandhaacintāmaṇi*, when Hemacandra visited the place of pilgrimage Devapattana, with Siddhantī. The question as to whether they are authentic, is difficult to decide. However, it is quite possible that, on some occasion or other, Hemacandra consented, in order to please one of his Śivite patrons, to sing in praise of Śiva in so curious a fashion, and with a double meaning.

62 *Kumārāpālaacarita* pp 87-88

अथ कर्णावल्या श्रीहेमाचार्या श्रीकुमारस्य राज्यासि शु-वा उदयनमञ्जिकृतप्रवेशोत्सवा पत्तने प्रापु । पृष्टो मन्त्री । राजास्माक स्मरति न वेति । मन्त्रिणोक्तम् । नेति । तत कटाक्षिस्मृतिभिरुचे । मन्त्रिण एव भूप व्याप रह । अद्य त्वया न राजा गृहे नैव सुखस्य (sic) राज्ञो लोपमर्गवान् । केनोक्तमिति पृच्छेत् तदात्यामहे मन्त्राम वाच्यम् । ततो मन्त्रिणा तथोक्ते राजा च तथा कृते निशि विधुत्यागतस्मिन् गृहे दग्धे राज्या च मृताया चमस्कृतो राजा जगाद सादरम् । मन्त्रिन् कस्यदमनागतज्ञान महत्परोपकारिण च । ततो राज्ञोतिनिर्वन्दे मन्त्रिणा श्रीगुरुणा आगमनमये । प्रमुदितो नृपमान् आकारयामास सदाभि । सुनीन इष्टासमादुःथाय वन्दित्वा प्राञ्जलिदत्वाच । भगवन् अह निजास्यमपि दर्शयितु नाह तत्रभवताम् । तदा च स्तम्भतीर्थे रक्षितो भाविराज्यसमयचिटिका चार्पिता । परमद प्राप्तगज्योपि नसार्प शुभाक निष्कारणप्रयत्नोपकारिणाम् । कथंचनाप्यह नावृणो अबामि । स्मृतिभिरुचे । कथमित्य विचारयते स्वमाश्रान मुधा राजन् उपकारक्षणे यत्ने सप्रति समानतोस्ति । ततो राजाह । भगवन् पूर्वप्रतिश्रुतमिदं राज्यं गृहीत्वा मामनुगृहाण । तत सूरि श्रोवाच । राजन् तस्मिन्नानामस्याक राज्येन[किम्] । चेद भूपत्य प्रत्युपचिकीरमि आश्रमते(?) तदा जेनधर्मं धेहि निज मन । ततो राजाह । अवदुक्त कतिप्येह सर्वमेव शनै शनै । कामयेह परं सङ्ग निधेरिय तव प्रभो(?) ॥ अतो भवन्निरिह प्रत्यह समागम्य प्रसन्न । एवमङ्गीकृत्य यथाप्रत्याव च यथायामागत्य धर्ममर्मान्तराणि सूरिराख्यातवान् ॥

63 *Kumārāpālaacarita*, pp 88-137 It may also be mentioned that Jinamandana does not disclaim the report of the *Prabandhaacintāmaṇi* about Kumārāpāla's 12 years' war with Arnorāja and the defeat of the latter through the mercy of Ajitanātha. He inserts it later, on pp 232 ff, without any connection.

64 J. Tod, *Travels in Western India*, p 504 No V—The extract given there is quite unreliable. The partial translation by Forbes, *Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. Soc.* vol VIII, pp 58-59, is better. An edition of the important inscriptions by Mr. Vajoshankar G. Ozhā appeared in *Wiener Zeitschr. f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol III, pp 1 ff. The verse in question reads —

एव राज्यमनारत विवधति श्रीवीरसिंहासने  
 श्रीमद्वीरकुमारपालनृपती त्रैलोक्यकल्पद्रुमे ।  
 गण्डो भावगुहस्पति स्वरिपोरुद्वीध्व देवालय  
 जीर्ण भूपतिमाह देवसदन प्रोद्धर्तुमेतद्वच ॥ ११ ॥

The date of the inscription, Valubhi-Samvat 850, cannot be translated with accuracy, as the day of the week and the month is not stated. However, it corresponds to V S 1225, and probably May or June 1169 A D.

65 *Indian Antiquary*, vol IV, pp 267-269

66 This important passage to which Prof H H Wilson, *Works*, vol I, pp 303 f (ed Post), first called attention, occurs in the *Mahānirvāṇaśāstra*, Saṅga XII, 45-96. I am indebted to Dr R G Bhāṇḍārkar for the following copy, which was procured by Śaṣṭī Vāmanācārya Jhalakīkar from a MS of the Deccan College Collection bought by me in 1874. The emendations in verses 45, 52, 53, 54, 62, 63, 68, 69, 74, 79, 85, 91 were suggested by the copyist.

अस्मि[स्म]न्निर्वाणतो वर्षशत्या[ता]न्यभय वोढश ।  
 नवपट्टिश्च यास्यन्ति यदा तत्र पुरे तदा ॥ ४५ ॥  
 कुमारपालभूपालश्चो[क्षो]लुक्यकुलचन्द्रमा ।  
 भविष्यति महाबाहु प्रचण्डाखण्डशामन ॥ ४६ ॥  
 स महात्मा धर्मदानयुद्धवीर प्रजा सिजाम् ।  
 ऋद्धि नेप्यति परमा पितेव परिपालयन् ॥ ४७ ॥  
 ऋतुरप्यतिचतुर शान्तोप्याज्ञादिवस्पति ।  
 क्षमावानप्यष्टप्यक्ष स चिर क्षमामविष्यति ॥ ४८ ॥  
 स आत्मसदस लोक धर्मनिष्ठ करिष्यति ।  
 विद्यापूर्णम्[र्ण] उपाध्याय इवान्तेवासिन हितम् ॥ ४९ ॥  
 शरण्य शरणेच्छुना परनारीमहोदर ।  
 प्राणेभ्योपि धनेभ्योपि स धर्म बहु मस्यते ॥ ५० ॥  
 पराक्रमेण धर्मेण दानेन त्रययाज्ञया ।  
 अन्यैश्च पुरुषगुणे सोद्वितीयो भविष्यति ॥ ५१ ॥  
 स काबेरीमानुरज्ज्व(ष्क)मेन्द्रीमाग्निदशापगम् ।  
 गाम्यामाविन्ध्यसावार्धि[र्धि] पश्चिमा स्वाधयिष्यति ॥ ५२ ॥  
 अन्यदा वज्रशाखाया मुनिचन्द्रकुलोद्भवम् ।  
 आचार्य हेमचन्द्र स द्रक्ष्यति क्ष[क्ष]तिनायक ॥ ५३ ॥  
 तद्दर्शनात् प्रमुदित केकीवाम्बुददर्शनात् ।  
 स मुनि वन्दिषु नित्य स भद्रात्मा त्वरिष्यते ॥ ५४ ॥  
 तस्य सुरोजिनचैत्ये कुर्वतो धर्मदेशनाम् ।  
 राजा सश्रावकामालो वन्दनाय गमिष्यति ॥ ५५ ॥  
 तत्र देव नमस्कृत्य स तत्त्वमभिउन्नपि ।  
 वन्दिष्यते तमाचार्य भावशुद्धेन चेतसा ॥ ५६ ॥  
 स श्रुत्वा तन्मुखात् प्रीत्या विशुद्धां धर्मदेशनाम् ।  
 अणुव्रतानि सम्यक्स्वपूर्वकाणि प्रपत्स्यते ॥ ५७ ॥  
 स प्राप्तबोधो भविता श्रावकाचारपारग ।  
 आस्थानेपि स्थितो धर्मगोष्ठ्या स्व रमयिष्यति ॥ ५८ ॥  
 अन्नशाकफलादीना नियमाश्च विशेषतः ।  
 आदास्यते स प्रत्यह प्रायेण ब्रह्मचर्यकृत् ॥ ५९ ॥

साधारणकीर्णं परं स सुधीर्वैजयिप्रति ।  
 धर्मपत्नीरपि ब्रह्म चरितुं बोधयिष्यति ॥ ६० ॥  
 मुनेस्तस्योपदेशेन जीवाजीवावितस्त्ववित् ।  
 आचार्य इव सोन्येषामपि बोधिं प्रदास्यति ॥ ६१ ॥  
 येर्हं च [ख] मैद्विप [ष] केपि पाण्डुरङ्गद्विजादयः ।  
 तेषु तस्याज्ञया गर्भश्रावका इव भाविनः ॥ ६२ ॥  
 अपूजितेषु चैत्येषु गुरुच [प्] प्रणतेषु च ।  
 न बोध्यते स धर्मज्ञः प्रपन्नश्रावकव्रत ॥ ६३ ॥  
 अपुत्रसूतपुत्रा स द्वविण न गृहीष्यति ।  
 विधेकस्य फलं ह्येतद्गुणा ह्यविधेकिनः ॥ ६४ ॥  
 पाण्डुप्रभृतिभिरपि या त्वक्ता सृगया न हि ।  
 स स्वयं त्यज्यति जनं सर्वोपि च तदाज्ञया ॥ ६५ ॥  
 हिंसानिवेधके तस्मिन् दूरेस्तु मृगयादिकम् ।  
 अपि मत्कुणयुकादीन् नान्यजोपि हनिष्यति ॥ ६६ ॥  
 तस्मिन् निषिद्धपापहर्षवरण्ये मृगजातयः ।  
 सदाप्यविघ्नरोमन्या भाविन्यो गोष्ठधेनुवत् ॥ ६७ ॥  
 जलचरस्यलचरखग[स्ते]चराणां स देहिनाम् ।  
 रक्षिष्यति सदाभारि शमने पाकशासनम् [न] ॥ ६८ ॥  
 ये वा [वा] जन्मापि मासादास्ते मामन्य[स्व] कथामपि ।  
 तु स्वप्नमिव तस्याज्ञावशान् नेष्यन्ति विस्मृतिम् ॥ ६९ ॥  
 दशार्हैर्न परित्यक्तं यत्पुरा श्रावकैरपि ।  
 तन्मद्यमनवघात्मा स सर्वत्र निरोत्स्यति ॥ ७० ॥  
 स तथा मद्यसंघान् निरोत्स्यति महीतले ।  
 न यथा मद्यमाण्डानि घटयिष्यति चक्रयपि ॥ ७१ ॥  
 मद्यपान[ना] सदा मद्यप्यसनक्षीणमपद्रवम् ।  
 तदाज्ञात्यक्तमघानां प्रभविष्यन्ति सपद ॥ ७२ ॥  
 नलादिभिरपि हमापेक्षुं त्यक्तं न यत्पुरा ।  
 तस्य स्ववरेण इव नामाप्युन्मूलयिष्यति ॥ ७३ ॥  
 पारावतपण्डीडाकुर्कु[र्कु]टयोधनान्यपि ।  
 न भविष्यन्ति मेदिन्या तस्योत्रयिनि शायने ॥ ७४ ॥  
 प्रायेण स प्रतिग्राममपि नि सीमवैभवः ।  
 करिष्यति महीमेता जिनायतनमण्डिताम् ॥ ७५ ॥  
 प्रतिग्रामं प्रतिपुरमासमुद्रं महीतले ।  
 रथयात्रोत्सवः सोर्हप्र[त्न]तिमानं कर्मायति ॥ ७६ ॥  
 दायदायं द्वविणानि विरचयानृणं जगत् ।  
 अङ्कयिष्यति मेदिन्यां स संवत्सरमात्मनः ॥ ७७ ॥  
 प्रतिमास्याञ्च [पांशु]गुणः ता कपिलपिप्रतिष्ठिताम् ।  
 एकदा श्रोष्यति कथाप्रसङ्गे तु गुरोर्मुखात् ॥ ७८ ॥  
 पांशु[स्ते]खलं खानयित्वा प्रतिमां विश्वपावि[व]नीम् ।  
 आनेष्यामीति स तदा करिष्यति मनोरथम् ॥ ७९ ॥  
 तदेव [तदेव] मनबुद्धाहं निमित्तान्यपराण्यपि ।  
 ज्ञात्वा निषेध्यते राजा प्रतिमां हस्तगामिनीम् ॥ ८० ॥  
 ततो गुरुमनुश्राप्य नियोज्यायुक्तपौरुषात् ।  
 प्रारप्स्यते खानयितुं खलं भीतभयस्य तत् ॥ ८१ ॥

सत्त्वेन तस्य परमार्थस्य प्रविष्टीयते ।  
 करिष्यति [तु] सांनिध्यं तदा शासनवेवता ॥ ८२ ॥  
 राज्ञ कुमारपालस्य तस्य पुण्येन मृतसा ।  
 सन्त्यमाने स्थले मु[म]ङ्ग प्रतिमाविर्भविष्यति ॥ ८३ ॥  
 तदा तस्यै प्रतिमायै बहुदायनमृजुजा ।  
 ग्रामाणां शासनं वृत्तं तदप्याविर्भविष्यति ॥ ८४ ॥  
 मृपायुक्ततां प्रतिमां प्रजा[ना]मपि नयामिव ।  
 रथमारोपयिष्यन्ति पूजयित्वा यथाविधि ॥ ८५ ॥  
 पूजाप्रकारेषु यधि जायमानेषु बनेकदा ।  
 क्रियमाणेष्वहोरात्र संगीतेषु निरन्तरम् ॥ ८६ ॥  
 तालिकारासिकेभ्यश्चैर्भवति [भक्त्यु] ग्रामयोषिताम् ।  
 पञ्चसहस्रेष्वामोषेषु पाद्यमानेषु समदाप् ॥ ८७ ॥  
 पक्षद्वये चानरेष्ट्यतस्तु च पतस्तु च ।  
 नेष्वन्ति सप्र[त्य]तिमां तां युक्ता पत्तनसीमनि ॥ ८८ ॥

त्रिभिर्विशेषकम् ॥

साम्यं पुरपरीवारश्चपुररक्षमृदुत ।  
 सकल संजमादाय राजा तामभिधासति ॥ ८९ ॥  
 स्वयं रथात्समुत्तीर्य गजेन्द्रमनिरुद्ध च ।  
 प्रवेशयिष्यति पुरे प्रतिमां तां स मूपति ॥ ९० ॥  
 उपस्थमु[म]वनं कीदृशमवने सनिवेश्य ताम् ।  
 कुमारपालो विधिबद्धं त्रिसंध्यं पूजयिष्यति ॥ ९१ ॥  
 प्रतिमायास्तथा तस्या वाचयित्वा स शासनम् ।  
 उद्गा[ता]वनेन बद्धं तत् प्रमाणीकरिष्यति ॥ ९२ ॥  
 प्रासादोद्घातदस्त्रैव युवराज [ज] स कारित ।  
 जनविषयसमाप्तो विस्मयं जगतोपि हि ॥ ९३ ॥  
 स मूपति प्रतिमया तत्र स्थापितवा तथा ।  
 एषिष्यते प्रतापेन क्रद्धा नि त्रेयसेन च ॥ ९४ ॥  
 देवभक्त्या गुरुभक्त्या त्वयिषु सद्गतोभय ।  
 कुमारपालो भूपाल स भविष्यति भारते ॥ ९५ ॥  
 इति श्रुत्वा नमस्कृत्य भगवन्तमथाभव ।  
 उपशो[भि]शिकमागत्य बहुमेवं प्रचक्रमे ॥ ९६ ॥

The date in the first verse is of extraordinary interest. It shows distinctly that Hemacandra, like the other Svetāmbaras, put the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira 470 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era. For only 1689-470 gives the right date V. S. 1199 for the beginning of Kumārāpāla's reign. Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, p. 8, has called attention to the fact that Hemacandra's statements in the *Paras'ṭaparvan* do not coincide with the usual calculation. The coronation of Candragupta is there, VIII, 339, placed 155 years after the Nirvāṇa, whereas the old *Gāthās* add another sixty years. The latter say that Mahāvira died in the night when Pālaka was crowned. According to them, Pālaka reigned 60 years, the Nandas 155, and between Candragupta's coronation and the beginning of the Vikrama-era, 255 years passed. Upon this Jacobi based two hypotheses, firstly that Hemacandra, having referred to a better tradition, left out the sixty years of Pālaka, and secondly that he placed the Nirvāṇa, 410 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era, in the year 467/66 B. C. I do not think that these deductions are tenable. For, according to the *Paras'ṭaparvan* VI, 243

अनन्तरं वर्धमानस्योत्तिष्ठान्वासरात् ।  
 यथावा कश्चित्कालेन नन्दोऽवबभूव ॥

Nanda I ascended the throne 60 years after Mahāvīra's death. The calculation of the *Parisīstavarvan* is therefore thus from the Nirvāṇa up to Nanda I sixty years, from Nanda I's coronation up to Candragupta's coronation 95 years, or a total of 155. From this, Jacobi's first premise is proved wrong. As regards the second one, it has so far not been proved that Hemacandra, like the *Gāthās*, placed only 255 years between Candragupta and the beginning of the Vikrama-era. The circumstance that, according to the *Mahāvīracarita*, the Nirvāṇa took place 470 years before Vikrama, makes it probable, (unless there is a careless mistake in the *Parisīstavarvan*) that Hemacandra or his authority counted 315 years between Candragupta's coronation and the beginning of the Vikrama-Samvat and similarly, like the Ceylonese Buddhists, placed the former event too early. For this reason, it seems to me that the assumption of the *S'vetāmbaras* of the 12th century having two dates, 597/6 and 467/6 B. C. for Vardhamāna's Nirvāṇa, is not likely. In Note 15 to my lecture about the Jains, p. 38 of the separate reprint, I have shown that the date 467/6 B. C. for Vardhamāna's death cannot be correct, if Śākyamuni Gautama died about 477 B. C.

67 The statement that Vāgbhata was a minister of Kumārāpāla is found in the *Kumārāvahārapprasaśni*, verse 87, see Peterson, *Third Report*, App. p. 316. This point is of some importance. For Vāgbhata does not occur in the inscriptions of Kumārāpāla's reign, which have so far been made known. However, as the *Prasasti* is by a pupil of Hemacandra's, its statement deserves credence. The *Prabhāvākāśitra* XXII, 676 mentions V S 1213 as the year of the consecration of the temple at S'atrūjaya, the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 219, V S 1211. The *Kumārāpādhyaṇṭa* p. 184 agrees with the latter work.

The date of the consecration of Āmraḥbha's temple in Broach occurs in the *Kumārāvalambācūṭa*,  
p. 185.

68 The extract from the *Moharājaparājaya*, in which amongst others the last verse, *śrī-s'vāmbhara-Hemacandracakṣaṣm* etc. quoted by Kielhorn, *Report of 1880-81*, occurs, begins in the *Kumārāpālacarita*, p 161, line 14, and ends on p 177, line 1. The passage in question is to be found on p. 167, lines 17 ff, where we read -

अथ संप्राप्ते शुभलगे निर्मलभाववारिणि कृतमङ्गलमज्जम सत्कीर्तिचन्द्रावलिस्तदेह [हो] नैकामिग्रहोत्सवपू-  
गालंकृत [तो] दानकङ्कणतोषियुदक्षिणपाणि संवेगारङ्ग[गग]जाधिरुद सदाचारपञ्चोपतोभित अद्यासहोदरया क्रियमाणल-  
वणोत्तरणविधि १३ शतकोटिमतमङ्गसुभगजन्मलोकाप्रवृत्त श्रीदेवगुरुमहोदयविरतिज्ञानिनीय<sup>(१)</sup>गीयमानधवलमङ्गल क्रमेण  
प्राप्त पौषआगारारुतोरणे पञ्चविधआध्यात्मवाङ्मनातोषध्वनिरूपे प्रसर्पति विवितिवध्वा कृतप्रेङ्गणाचार शम्भमाविशा[ह्या]लक-  
दर्शितसरनिर्मोसुगुहमध्यस्थिताया शीलचवलचोवरध्यानद्वयकण्ठन[ल]पद्वर<sup>(२)</sup> तपोमेहसुत्रिकाफलकृताया कृपसुन्दर्या सं०  
१२१६ मासं सु० २ दिने पाणि जग्राह श्रीकुमारपाल । श्रीमदहोदय<sup>(३)</sup>वत्तासमक्ष तत श्यामोक्तश्राद्धगुणगुणितद्वादशवतकल-  
शार्पक्ष विचारवास्तोतानो नवतपनवाङ्मवेदी कृत्वा प्रबोधाभिमुदाप्य[सुरीप्य] भावनासर्पितस्यै श्रीहेमाचार्यां भूदेव सबभूक  
शुभं प्रार्थयदङ्ग[क्षिण]पायासत ॥

69 The MS in question is described by Poterson, *Third Report*, App I, p 67 The inscription is the presentation of land by the *Mahāmāndalika* Pratāpasunha, which is preserved in the temple of *Pārśvanātha* in Naddūla-Nāmdol The beginning of the same reads, according to the copy which I made in 1873:

॥ ॐ ॥ संवत् १२१३ वर्षे माघे वदि १० शुक्ले ॥ श्रीमद्वज्रहृत्पाठके समस्त राजावलि समस्त कृतपरमभट्टारक महा-  
राजा विराजपतेस्वर-उमापतिवररुद्रप्रथाप्रौढप्रतापनिजसुजिक्मराराणनिर्जित-शाकम्भरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवकल्याणविज-  
यराज्ये ॥ सत्यावोपजीविनि महामाल्यभीचाहृदये श्रीश्रीकण्ठादे सकलसुग्राभ्यापारान् पतिपथ्यति ... .

As the inscription contains a presentation to the Jamas, one might surely expect a mention of Kumārāpala's conversion, in case the same had already taken place before that time. The exact date of this is, according to Dr. Schram's calculation, January 20th, 1156, a Friday.

69. The *Alamkārasūdamani* is written in *Sūtras*, and is provided with a very clear, detailed

commentary, containing a large number of examples to illustrate the rules. The work consists of eight *Adhyāyas*, the contents of which is as follows -

- I *Manṣala*, Purpose of Poetry, Qualifications of the poet, the Nature of Poetry, the three *s'aktis* of the word, pp 1-48
- II The doctrine of the *Rasas*, pp 49-96
- III The errors of poetic composition, pp 97-169
- IV The advantages of poetic composition, pp 169-174
- V The *Śabdābhivṛttāntas*, pp 175-200
- VI The *Arthābhivṛttāntas*, pp 201-250
- VII The suitable characters for poetic presentation, pp 251-279
- VIII The kinds of poetic composition, pp 280-291

The MS which I used, is India Office Library (*Sanskrit-MSS*, Buhler) No 111. It was put together by Śāstrī Vāmanācārya Jhalkikar, after a comparison of several old MSS.

70 See *Vāgghatīkarmkāra*, ed. Borooah, IV, 45, 76, 81, 85, 125, 129, 132, 152.

In the fifth and eighth passages Jayasimha's victory over Varvaraka or Barbaraka is mentioned, which is spoken about in the *Dvyaśvaghāṇya* and in the Caulukya-inscriptions.

71 About the Berlin-MS of *Chandanasāna* or *Chandas'cūḍāmani*, see Weber, *Katalog*, vol II, sect I, p 268. We must add to his description that the leaves 27, 29-31, 36-40, show, besides the usual figures on the left, the symbols of the old *akṣarapūṭi*. The Commentary on the small work is very detailed and contains, according to the colophon of the Jerusalem MS 4100 *Granthas*. I had no MS of the latter at my disposal for this work. My remarks are based upon notes previously taken.

72 *Alambāraśulbha*, III, 2 has, in explanation of the error

एतद्वृत्तत्वं । एतदपवादस्तु स्वच्छन्दोनुशासनेऽस्माभिर्निरूपित इति नेह प्रत्यन्यते ।

73 The *S'esāhṛayā Nāmamālā* is reprinted in Bohtlink and Rieu's edition of *Abhidhāna-cūḍāmani*. As regards the Berlin MSS see Weber, *Katalog*, vol II, sect I, pp 258 f. The work agrees to a very remarkable extent with the older *Vajrayānti* of Yādavaprakāśa, from which a number of rare words has been borrowed.

74 The *Nighantū* is mentioned in the list of Hemacandra's works at the end of the *Prabhāvaka-carita* under the name *Nirghantū*. We read there, XXII, 836-40

व्याकरण[न] पञ्चाङ्ग प्रमाणशास्त्र[स] प्रमाणमीमांसा [साम्] ।  
 छन्दोल्लङ्घितचूडामणी च शास्त्रे विमुच्यं चित्त [चित्] ॥ ८३६ ॥  
 एकार्यनेकार्यो देव्या निर्वण्ट इति च खलार ।  
 विहिताश्च ता[न]मकोशा शुचिकवितानमुपाध्याया ॥ ८३७ ॥  
 स्तु[त्यु]त्तरपट्टिशलाकानरेतिवृत्त गृहिष्यतविचारे ।  
 अप्यात्मयोगशास्त्र विदधे जगदुपकृतिविधित्सु ॥ ८३८ ॥  
 लक्षणसाहित्यगुण विदधे च व्याश्रय[य] महाकाम्यम् ।  
 चक्रे विशतिमुच्च स धीतरागस्तवाना च ॥ ८३९ ॥  
 इति तद्विहितग्रन्थसंख्यैव न हि विद्यते ।  
 नामानि न विदन्त्येष्वा[वा] माहता मन्दमेव ॥ ८४० ॥

As regards the fragments found, see my *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*



1874/75, pp 6 f., and the Last of the *Elphinstone College Collection 1886/68* under *Kosha* There is a copy of the *Nighantvūśa, dhāmyakāṇḍa*, in the *Deccan College Collection 1875/77*, No 735.

75. The verses, in which Kumārapāla is named, are found in Pischel's edition ( *Bombay Sanskrit Series* No XVII ) I, 97, 107, 116, 127, II, 39, 90, III, 46, IV, 16, VI, 10, 19, 26, VII, 7, 13, 40, 59 Those addressed to Culukka or Cālukka are - I, 66, 84, II, 30, VI, 5, 7, 15, 17, 111, VIII, 51 We may also remark that Jayasimha-Siddharāja is named in one single verse II, 4, and that his victory over Barbaraka is mentioned

The verse IV, 32, perhaps refers to the same king -  
 "O earthly tree of Paradise, O thou, whose strong arm is like unto a tree, the gutters of the houses in Parthāna are filled with the sap of the strength of thy elephants"

Bhāndārkar has recently discovered fragments of a historical work, which speaks of a conquest of Pratisthāna-Parthān by Jayasimha, see *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts of 1883-84*, p 10 It is also possible that Hala-Sātavāhana is meant by the "earthly tree of Paradise", as his name also occurs otherwise in the *Deśināmāli*

76. *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, pp 225-226, relates, that Kumārapāla was guilty of a linguistic solecism, when he used the word *upamāyā* instead of *upamā* or *upamāyam* Then, we are told, he studied the *Sūtras* beginning with the *mātrkāpāṭha* with some Pandit or other In one year he absolved three *Kāvyas* with the Commentaries, and then received the title of honour *Vicāraacaturmūlika*, The same story occurs in the *Kumārapālacarita*, p 105, where Hemacandra is mentioned as the teacher.

77 An interesting proof of the significance of Jainism in Anhilvād before Hemacandra's time is furnished by the discovery of the drama *Karnasundarī*, which was recently published by Pandit Durgāprasāda in the *Bombay Kāvya-māla*. The piece was written by the famous poet Bilhana, and was intended to be acted in the temple of Śāntināth at the feast of Nabheyā, which was instituted by the minister Sampatkara ( Śāntu ? ) The first verse of the Nāndī, an imitation of the beginning of the *Nāgānanda*, is therefore addressed to the Jina The hero, as stated by the poet in Act I, verse 10 himself, is the son of Bhimadeva, i e king Karna, who reigned from V S 1120 to 1150 Other evidence of the influence of the Jainas at the court of Anhilvād may be found in the *Prasasti* of the old MSS where many Jainas are mentioned as occupying official positions under the first Caulukyās, especially in the department of finance

78 The story is found in *Kumārapālacarita*, pp 137 ff, and its contents are as follows - When Kumārapāla was inclined towards Jainism, the Brahmins called in Rājācārya Devabodhi This was a great Yogi, who had made the goddess Bhārati submissive to him, and was acquainted with sorcery and knew the past and the future After the king had heard that Devabodhi had come into the neighbourhood of Anhilvāda, he received him with great honour, and led him to his palace The greater part of the day passed in ceremonies of reception In the afternoon the king worshipped a picture of Śāntinātha in the presence of the whole court Then Devabodhi admonished him to desist from the Jaina faith When Kumārapāla praised the latter on account of the Ahimsā doctrine and blamed the Śrauta Dharma on account of the Himsā, Devabodhi caused the gods Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva, as well as the seven Caulukya-princes—Mūlarāja and his successors—to appear, and they of course spoke in favour of the religion of the Vedas On the following morning Hemacandra considerably outdid Devabodhi's feats At first he caused his seat to be pulled away, and then executed the trick which was supposed to be a great favourite amongst the Yogis, namely, that of holding himself up in mid-air Then he caused the entire Olympus of the Jainas to appear before the king, together with all the king's ancestors, who worshipped the Jinas Finally he explained that the apparitions were only an illusion, just as those produced by Devabodhi had been Only that which Somanātha had told the king in the temple of Devapattana was the truth This of course assured his victory Regarding Devabodhi, who was probably a historical personage, see also above, page 20.

79 Merutunga's statement is quoted above, page 30 and Note 61. He says wrongly that the *Tripaṭhaśālikāpurāṣarīta* was written before the *Yogasāstra*. This statement is repeated by Jinamandana. The *Prabhāvalakṣṇa* XXII, 775 ff. and 899 ff. gives the date of the two works as much later, but it puts the *Yogasāstra* first.

80 The first four *Prakāśas* of the *Yogasāstra* are known through E. Windisch's edition and translation in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 185 ff. The contents of the last eight *Prakāśas*, which are preserved only in very few MSS are as follows –

*Prakāśa V*, about certain exercises belonging to the Yoga and their results, as they are taught by others, according to the Commentary of Patañjali and others. To these belong 1) the *Prāṇāyāma*, by which one learns how to control the winds of the body and the *Manas*, s'1 1-27, 2) the *Dhāraṇā*, by which one learns how to conduct the winds into any parts of the body one likes, and to draw them out again, s'1 26-35, 3) the observation of the movements of the winds in the body, by which one can forestall death and life, fortune and misfortune, s'1 36-120, 4) other methods of predetermining the death through meditation and divination, s'1 121-224, 5) methods of determining victory and defeat, success or failure of undertakings and so forth, s'1 225-251, 6) the cleansing of the *Nāḍīs*, the arteries, which are the paths of the wind, s'1 252-263, 2) the *Vedhavadhi* and *Paraprapravesa*, the art of separating the soul from the body and of causing it to enter other bodies, s'1 264-273.

*Prakāśa VI*, s'lokas 7, about the futility of *Paraprapravesa* and *Prāṇāyāma* for gaining salvation, – for which purpose, however, the *Pratyāhāra* taught by some is useful, – and about the parts of the body which come into question for meditation ( *dhyāna* )

*Prakāśa VII*, s'lokas 28, the *Paṇḍita Dhyāna*, the meditation about bodies, with its five sub-divisions called *Dharmā*, viz., the *Pāṭhivī*, *Āgneyī*, *Mānusi*, *Vārunī* and *Tatrabhū*, see Bhāndārkar, *Report of 1883/84*, pp. 110-111.

*Prakāśa VIII*, s'lokas 78, the *Paṇḍita Dhyāna*, the meditation on sacred words or syllables, which one imagines as written upon lotus-leaves, ( see Bhāndārkar, *loc cit* p. 111 )

*Prakāśa IX*, s'lokas 15, the *Rūpasta Dhyāna*, the meditation on the form of Arhat, ( see Bhāndārkar, *loc cit* p. 112 )

*Prakāśa X*, s'lokas 24, ( 1 ) the *Rūpātita Dhyāna*, the meditation on the formless *Parāmātmā*, which is only intelligence and rapture, i. e. the released soul, with which one identifies oneself, thereby making oneself like unto it, ( 2 ) another division of meditation, in 4 parts, namely, *Ājñādhyāna*, *Apāyavivacyadhyāna*, *Vipākavivacyadhyāna* and *Samsthānādhyāna*.

*Prakāśa XI*, s'lokas 61, the *S'ukla Dhyāna*, see Bhāndārkar, *loc cit* p. 110.

*Prakāśa XII*, s'lokas 55, concluding remarks of the author, based upon his own experience, upon that which is especially necessary to the Yogi and leads him to salvation.

It is now easily understood why this part of the work, which is really the part which justifies the title, has not been much copied, whilst the MSS of the first four *Prakāśas* are even now often explained to laymen as a text-book for their duties.

The Commentary to the *Yogasāstra* was written by Hemacandra after the completion of the text as well as of the *Vitarāgastotra*, which, according to the *Prabandhas*, belonged to the *Yogasāstra*, ( Note 81 ) For verses of the latter ( i. e. the *Vitarāgastotra* ) are often quoted, e. g. II, 7, III, 123, IV, 108, and the last verse of the *Yogasāstra* even in the explanation of I, 4.

The explanation of the first four *Prakāśas* is extraordinarily detailed. The words of the text are expounded by very numerous quotations, and the stories, to which allusion is made, are related at great length. It is especially interesting that the legend of Śhūlabhadra in III, 131 is given in almost exactly the same words as in the *Parivṛttoparvan* VIII, 2-193 and IX, 55-111a, without, however,

there being any mention of the existence of the latter work. Amongst Hemacandra's own works quotations are taken, generally with the mention *yad avocāma* or *yad uktam asmābhiḥ*, from the Grammar, the *Dhātupāṭha*, the *Abhidhānācintāmaṇi* and the *Liṅgānusāsana* besides the *Vitarāgaśāstra*. In addition, the Commentary often gives appended explanations of the author in the case of difficult points, which are introduced with the words *abhrānta ślokaḥ*. At the end of the Commentary on *Prakāśa* IV there is a verse hinting that the first main section has been concluded

इति निगदितमेतत्साधनं ध्यानसिद्धे-  
यन्तिगृहीतमेतादेव रत्नत्रयं च ।  
सकलमपि यदन्यद् ध्यानभेदादि सम्यक्  
प्रकटितमुपरिष्ठादष्टभिस्तत् प्रकाशे ॥

The conclusion of the work, XII, 55 reads thus

या शास्त्रात्सुगुरोर्मुखाद्बुभवाच्चज्ञायि किंचिद् कश्चिद्  
योगस्योपनिषद् विवेकपरिषद्येतद्व्यसत्कारिणी ।  
श्रीचौलुक्यकुमारपालनृपतेरत्यर्थमभ्यर्थनाद्  
आचार्येण निवेशिता पथि गिरा श्रीहेमचन्द्रेण सा ॥ ५५ ॥

या योगस्योपनिषद् इत्यस्ममज्ञायि ज्ञाता । कुत । शास्त्राद् द्वादशाज्ञात् । सुगुरो मटागमन्यायप्राप्तुं स्वात् साक्षादुपदे-  
शात् । अयुभवाच्च स्वसंवेदनरूपाद् । किंचिद् कश्चिदिति स्वमज्ञानानुसारेण । कश्चिदित्येकस्य सर्वस्य ज्ञानुभवावस्थादेशभेदे कचन ।  
उपनिषद् विशिनष्टि । विवेकिना योगस्वीना या परिवर्त्यया तस्या यच्चैरस्त्यमङ्करोतीत्येवदीला सा योगोपनिषत् । श्रीचौलुक्यो  
य कुमारपालनृपतिलयात्यर्थमभ्यर्थनया । स हि योगोपावनप्रियो दृष्टयोगशास्त्रान्तरश्च भ्यो योगशास्त्रभ्यो नि ग योगशास्त्र  
शुश्रूषमाण सर्वेनरो यचनस्य । गिरा पथि निवेशितवा]न् आचार्यो हेमचन्द्र इति शुभम् ॥

श्रीचौलुक्यक्षितिपतिकृतप्रार्थनाप्रेरितोऽहं  
स[न]त्त्वज्ञानानामृतजलनिधेयागशास्त्रस्य वृत्तिम् ।  
स्वोपज्ञस्य व्यचरयमि[मा तावद्] एषा च नन्याद्  
यावज्जेनप्रोवचनवती भूयुं स्व[स्व]यीयम् ॥ १ ॥  
सप्रापि योगशास्त्रात्तद्विबुत्तेश्चापि यन्मया सुकृतम् ।  
तेन जिनबोधिबलमप्रणयी भव्यो जनो भवतात् ॥ २ ॥

Then follows the famous Colophon. The MS. which I have before me, belonging to the library of the Vienna University, contains 167 leaves with 19 lines on each page. Unfortunately the last page has suffered greatly through use, and cannot be completely deciphered. The date seems to be missing. However, the very archaic script makes it probable that the MS. is about 300-400 years old. The *Granthāgāras* of the single *Prakāśas* are: P I=2000, P II=3500, P III=3900, P IV=2300, P V=640, Pr VI=18, P VII=39, P VIII=140, P IX=21, Pr X=84, P XI=210, Pr XII, illegible. It is also added that the *Granthavamśkyā* of the last eight *Prakāśas* is 1500 and that of the whole is 12,000, which cannot be quite correct. Old MSS. of the work are described in Dr. Peterson's *First Report*, App. 22, 57 and in *Third Report*, App. 14, 15, 74, 143, 176. The oldest, *Third Report*, p. 74, is of the year V S. 1251, and was therefore written 22 years after Hemacandra's death.

81 According to a MS. which was recently sent to me from Bombay the *Vitarāgaśāstra* consists of twenty quite short sections, each of which bears the name *stava* or *prakāśa*.

1) *Prastāvanāstavaḥ*, 8 ślokaḥ, begins

य परात्मा पर ज्योति परम परमेष्ठिनाम् ।  
आदित्यवर्णं तमसं पुरस्तादात्मनन्ति यम् ॥ १ ॥

- 2) *Sahajātis'ayastavah*, 8 ś'lokas, begins

श्रीहेमचन्द्रप्रभवाद् वीतरागस्तवादित ।

कुमारपालभूपाल प्राप्नोतु फलमीप्सितम् ॥ १ ॥

- 3) *Karmakṣayajñastavaḥ*, 15 s'lokaḥ.
- 4) *Surah-rūṭas'raṣṭastavaḥ*, 14 s'lokaḥ.
- 5) *Pratidhṛṣṭastavaḥ*, 9 s'lokaḥ.
- 6) *Prātīpāṇanirūṣastavaḥ*, 12 s'lokaḥ.
- 7) *Jagadānānānāṣṭastavaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ.
- 8) *Ekāntanānāṣṭastavaḥ*, 12 s'lokaḥ.
- 9) *Kaḥastavaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ.
- 10) *Adbhutastavaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ.
- 11) *Mahastavaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ.
- 12) *Vaiśāṅghastavaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ.
- 13) *Hetuṇāṣṭastavaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ.
- 14) *Yogavāddhastavaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ.
- 15) *Bhaktastavaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ.
- 16) *Ātmagavāḥastavaḥ*, 9 s'lokaḥ.
- 17) *Sarvaṇṇagavāḥastavaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ.
- 18) *Kaṭhorakastavaḥ*, 10 s'lokaḥ.
- 19) *Ājñāstavaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ.
- 20) *Ās'lokaḥ*, 8 s'lokaḥ, it omits

तव प्रेप्त्योऽस्मि दासोऽस्मि सेवकोऽस्म्यस्मि किंकर ।

ओमिति प्रतिपद्यस्व नाथ नात पर बुधे ॥ ८ ॥

The *stotra* is a short poetic compendium of the Jaina-doctrine, and may have been Hemacandra's first attempt to acquaint Kumārāpāla with the teachings of Jainism.

82 *Indian Antiquary*, vol IV, pp 268-269

53 The story of Yukavihāra is to be found in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* p. 232, and that of the punishment of Lakṣa in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* XXII, 823-830. Kollhana of Naḍḍāla is historical personage, and is mentioned in an inscription of V S 1218, see above, page 38. The issue of the edict of Amara is, of course, mentioned also in all the *Prabandhus*. In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* XXII, 691, we read that it was announced in the whole kingdom with the sound of drums. In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* pp. 211, 243 it is said that the edict was issued for a limited period of fourteen years. In the *Kumārapālikaśāstra* it is mentioned on p. 144, line 16, pp. 152 ff., and many details are given, which repeat and extend the accounts of the *Dvayaśraya* and of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*.

84 *Prabhāvakacarita* XXII, 690–691, *Kumārapālacarita* p. 154

85 *Prabhāvākaraṇa* XXII, 692-702, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* pp. 216-217, *Kuṃṇāpola-*  
*cārī* p. 205, where an anecdote of a certain case is also related, *Kṛtikāvanudī* II, 43-44. The  
*Prabhāvākaraṇa* remarks in verse 693 expressly that it was the merchants (*vyavahārī*) whose  
fortune was confiscated if they died without leaving sons. The passage, just mentioned in the *Abhyā-*  
*nas'ākumāla*, is to be found in the 6th Act, pp. 138-139, ed. Pischol.

86 The very much spoiled verses, *Prabhāvalacakra* XXII, 603-609, refer to the Kumāra-vihāra. There is a second passage about the buildings verses 683-689, where we read

प्रासादे सप्तहस्तैश्च यवावर्णो(?) महीपति ।  
 द्वात्रिंशत् विहारानां सप्तर्ष्यां निरमापयत् ॥ ६८३ ॥  
 द्वौ शुभ्रौ द्वौ च - - - द्वौ रक्तोत्पलवर्णकौ ।  
 द्वौ नीलौ षोडशश्च स्युः प्रासादा कनकधरा ॥ ६८४ ॥  
 श्रीरोहिणिश्च समवसरण प्रभुपादुका ।  
 अशोकविटपी चैव द्वात्रिंशत्स्थापितास्तदा ॥ ६८५ ॥  
 चतुर्विंशतिचैत्येषु श्रीमन्त ऋषभादय ।  
 सीमन्धराद्याश्चत्वारो चतुर्षु निलयेषु च[च] ॥ ६८६ ॥  
 द्वात्रिंशत् पूरुषाणामनृणास्मातिगर्भितम्(?) ।  
 व्यतिष्ठत् प्रभोर्भूष[ ] पृथ्वीवाद्यानुसारतः ॥ ६८७ ॥  
 स पञ्चविंशतिवाताहुलमानो जिनेश्वर ।  
 श्रीमत्तिड्डुणपालाख्ये पञ्चविंशतिहस्तके ॥ ६८८ ॥  
 विहारेस्थान्यत् श्रीमान् नेमिनाथोपरैरपि ।  
 सप्तसप्तदशस्थानेषु जनचैस्थान्यचीकरत् ॥ ६८९ ॥

Hemacandra's advice upon which Kumārapāla was to build 32 temples as penance for the sins of his 32 teeth, is found, *loc cit* verse 701. Thirdly, in verses 722-726, there is an account of a temple in S'atrufijaya, which was 24 *hustas* high, and which, as the author adds, is still to be seen at present

The fourth passage consists of verses 807-821

एव कृतार्थयज्ञं जन्म सप्तकोट्या धन वपत् ।  
 चक्रे सम्प्रतिपन्नैर्नमस्तेर्मण्डिता महीम् ॥ ८०७ ॥  
 श्रीशालाकानृणा वृत्त स्वोपशम्यभवोन्मदा ।  
 व्याचक्षुर्गुपतेर्धर्मस्थिरीकरणहेतवे ॥ ८०८ ॥  
 श्रीमहावीरवृत्त च व्याख्यात[न्त] सुरबोन्मदा ।  
 देवाधिदेवसयध[बन्ध] व्याचक्षुर्गुपतेः पुर ॥ ८०९ ॥  
 यथा प्रभावती देवी भूपालोदयनप्रिया ।  
 श्रीवेङ्कटावनीपालपुत्री तस्या यथा पुरा ॥ ८१० ॥  
 चारित्री घात[व्यन्त]र' कश्चिद्धानपात्र महाकवम् ।  
 सत्प्रभयित्वापयत्[च] आद्वैत्यार्थ[च] संपुट हठम् ॥ ८११ ॥  
 एन देवाधिदेवं य उपलक्षयिता प्रभुम् ।  
 स प्रकाशयिताम्(?) इत्युक्त्वासां तिरोदधे ॥ ८१२ ॥  
 पुरे वीतमये यानपात्रे संघटिते यथा ।  
 अन्यैर्मोदघाटित देव्या वीराख्याया [ख्यया] प्रकाशितः [तम् ?] ॥ ८१३ ॥  
 यथा अद्योतराजस्य हस्त सा प्रतिमा गता ।  
 दास्या तत्प्रतिबिम्बं च मुक्त पञ्चासुरे यथा ॥ ८१४ ॥  
 प्रमथगौरवमीत्या च ता[न] तथा वर्णिता कथा ।  
 श्रीवीरचरिताद्गो[ज्ज]या तस्यां श्रुतिसकौतुकै ॥ ८१५ ॥  
 षट्त्रिंशं कुलकम् ॥  
 तां श्रुत्वा भूपतिः कस्यहस्ताभिपुण्ड्रिणी (?) ।  
 प्रेम्ण वीतमये अ[च]न्यैवी[वी]लवत्तद् शुभं कृणात् ॥ ८१६ ॥

राजमन्दिरमालोक्य श्रुवोमुन[मोन्त]सेतिहर्षिता ।  
 देवतावसरस्थान प्रापुर्बिम्बं तथार्हत ॥ ८१७ ॥  
 आनीत च विभो राजधानीमतिशयोक्तवै ।  
 स प्रवेश[श] दधे तस्य लौघदैवतवेश्मनि ॥ ८१८ ॥  
 प्रामाद स्फाटिकस्तत्र तद्योग्य. पृथिवीभृता ।  
 प्रारमेव निषिद्धश्च प्रभुभिर्भाविवेदिभि ॥ ८१९ ॥  
 राजप्रासादमध्ये च न हि देवगु[गु]ह भवेत् ।  
 इत्यगान्या[माजा]मनुलङ्घ्य न्यवतेन ततो नृप ॥ ८२० ॥  
 एकानपन्नता जैनशासनस्य प्रकाशयन्[नृ] ।  
 सिंहावरोन्मेष श्रीहेमचन्द्रप्रभुर्धर्मो ॥ ८२१ ॥

The same story is told in the *Kumārāpūṭānāṭha* pp. 264, 1

87. *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* pp. 216, 219, 221, 232, 238. Jinamallana reports the accounts of his predecessors and gives us nothing new of importance, except that, on p. 252, he brings the number of restorations made by Kumārāpala up to 16,000.

88. The minister Yasodhavalā is mentioned in the colophon at the bottom of a MS of the *Kalpavṛkṣa*, Kiehn, *Report*, App. p. 11. Somesvara in the *Prasasti* (*Kīrtihāṁmadī* App. A, pp. 5 and 14, verse 35) tells us of Yasodhavalā, the Paramara prince of Candavati and Acalagudi, that he fought with Kumārāpala against Māyū and killed king Ballala. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* knows that he was placed upon the throne by Kumārāpala after the sentence of his uncle Vikramasinha. Vikramasinha is not mentioned by Somesvara, but, on the other hand, he is mentioned in the *Dvāṇāṣṭapāṇīya*. The princes of Candavati were not very powerful, and were vassals of the Candakya in the 12th and 13th centuries. It is therefore not improbable that Yasodhavalā was for a time Kumārāpala's Pradhān. About Kapaṭha, see, for instance, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* pp. 226-230, according to the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* p. 102. He was a Paramara-Rajput.

89. Unfortunately I am not in a position to make quite exact statements as to the extent of this work, as I have only been able to see a few extracts - the *Jñānāmṛtāva* printed in Calcutta, the *Parasastapāṇīya* published by H. Jacob in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and the MS of the Royal Asiatic Society which contains the eighth *Parvan*. The MS of the Deccan College, No. 47, *Coll. of 1877/78*, in which the *Parvans* I, II, IV are missing, is written upon 715 leaves, with 15 line on a side. The Cambay-Bhāṇḍār contains palm-leaf MSS of *Parvan* I (Peterson, *First Rep.*, p. 67), II (Peterson, *First Rep.*, p. 19), III (Peterson, *First Rep.*, p. 11, *Third Rep.*, p. 124), VII (Peterson, *First Rep.*, p. 23, *Third Rep.*, p. 145), VIII (Peterson, *First Rep.*, p. 34, *Third Rep.*, p. 144), X (Peterson, *First Rep.*, p. 35) and of the *Parasastapāṇīya* (Peterson, *First Rep.*, p. 35). Jinamallana's account is to be found in the *Kumārāpūṭānāṭha* p. 235, line 16 and is probably approximately correct.

90. I discovered this work (see *Report on N. MSS. 1879/80*, pp. 2, 5) in a MS, where it follows the text of the Sanskrit *Dvāṇāṣṭapāṇīya*. As regards other MSS, see Peterson, *Third Rep.*, p. 19 and Kiehn, *Report for 1880/81* p. 77, No. 374. It contains only 950 *śloka*s together with the Commentary. Quotations from it are to be found in Jinamallana, *Kumārāpūṭānāṭha* p. 194. The latter are the only parts of the little work, which are now available to me.

91. See Böhtlingk and Riou, *Abhūdhānācintāmaṇi* p. VII.

92. The verses in question, according to my copy from No. 702, *Deccan College Collection 1875/77*, read -

श्रीहेमसूरिसिष्येण श्रीमन्महेन्द्रसूरिणा ।  
 भक्तिनिष्ठेन टीकेय तन्नामैव प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ १ ॥

सम्पत्तानिधेर्गुणैरनवधे श्रीहेमचन्द्रप्रभो-  
 श्रन्धे व्याकृतिकौसल्यसमिनीं कासाहता तद्वत् ।  
 व्याख्यामस्य तथापि त पुनरिदं नाश्चर्यमन्तर्मनस्य  
 तस्याजस्रं स्थितस्य हि वयं व्याख्यामनुब्रूमहे ॥ २ ॥

Compare also Th Zachariae *Beitrage zur indischen Leasingraphie*, pp 75 ff. I do not think that Hemacandra wrote the beginning of the Commentary himself, Zachariae declares this to be possible

98 There are MSS of this work with a Commentary by Mallisena in the *Deccan College Collection* 1872/73 Nos 195-196, 1873/74, No 286 1880/81, No 413 I am unable to say anything in detail about the work, as I have now no copy of it with me

94 As regards Rāmacandra's *Raghuvalīkṣa*, see my *Report on the Search for S. MSS 1874/5*. There is one copy of the work in the *Deccan College Collection* 1875/77, No 760. The Colophon of the *Nirbhayabhīma* is given in Peterson's *first Report* App I, p 60. Rāmacandra seems to have mixed himself up with the intrigues about the succession to the throne, (page II) at the end of Kumārāpāla's reign, and to have worked against Kumārāpāla's nephew Ajayapāla. When however, Ajayapāla came to the throne, he caused him, as Merutunga (*Prabandhaucintāmanī* p 248) relates, to be roasted alive on a copper plate. Yasacandra is mentioned in the *Prabandhaucintāmanī* XXII, 746. *Prabandhaucintāmanī* p 206, p 223 and *Kumārāpālacarita* p 188. Balacandra and Guṇacandra in the *Kumārāpālacarita* p 283 see also above page 57. In the *Brhaddharmakosa* at Jaisalmer there are fragments of *Śrī Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra-ajayapāla-Dravīdānukarāṭikā*. After the *Brhaddharmakosa* stands the date Samvat 1202. Merutunga (*Prabandhaucintāmanī* p 230) relates an anecdote about Udayacandra which may possibly have a historical basis. Once we are told he was teaching the *Yogasūtra* to the king in the presence of his teacher. When he came to the verse III, 107 दन्तकेश नखास्त्रिवज्रोष्णां ग्रहणमाकरे he repeated the last words several times. Hemacandra asked him whether there was anything wrong in the MS. He answered that according to the grammar it should read 'त्वज्रोष्णा' as enumerations of the limbs of animals took the singular ending in the *Dravīda*. Thereupon his teacher praised him. All the MSS have the singular in the passage in question and the Commentary refers to the Grammar according to which the same is required. As regards Udayacandra's explanation of his teacher's Grammar see Note 34.

95 The first verse is to be found in the *Prabandhaucintāmanī* pp 216-217, and *Prabandhaucintāmanī* XXII, 701 the second in the *Prabandhaucintāmanī* p 223 and *Prabandhaucintāmanī* XXII, 765, the third in the *Prabandhaucintāmanī* p 224 and *Kumārāpālacarita* p 188. The *Dandaka* is mentioned in the *Prabandhaucintāmanī* p 235 and the half-verse which completes the one begun by the minister Kapardin, on p 228. The description of the way in which Kumārāpāla fulfilled the twelve Jaina vows, is given in the *Kumārāpālacarita* pp 187-213.

96 *Prabandhaucintāmanī* pp 99-100

कुमारपालेनामारी प्रारब्धायामाश्रितमुदिपक्ष समागत । देवतानां कण्टेश्वरीप्रमुखानामनो[बो]टिकैर्नृपो विज्ञप्तः ।  
 देव सप्तम्यां सप्त शतानि पशवः सप्त महिषा अष्टम्यामष्ट महिषा अष्टौ शतानि पशवो नवम्या तु नव शतानि पशवो नव महिषा  
 देवीभ्यो राज्ञा देव्या भवन्ति पूर्वपुरुषकाम् । राजा तदाकर्ण्य श्रीहेमान्तिकमगमत् । कथिता सा वार्ता । श्रीप्रभुभिः कर्ण  
 एवमेवमित्युक्तम् । राजोरिथत् । आश्रितास्ते । देव दास्याम इत्युक्त्वा वह्निकाक्रमेण राज्ञो देवीसदने क्षिप्तः पशवः शालकाणि दही-  
 कृतानि । उपवेशितास्तेषु प्रभूता आसराजपुत्रा । प्रातरायतो नृपेन्द्र । उद्घाटितानि देवीसदनद्वाराणि । मध्ये दृष्ट्वा पशवो  
 रोमन्धायमाना निर्वातशय्यासुस्थः । भूपालो जगाद् । भो अबोटिका एते पशवो मयाभूम्य[भूम्यो]दत्ता । यद्यभूम्योरोधि[धि]  
 ष्वन्तैते तदाप्रसिष्यन्त । पर न प्रस्तास्तस्माना[न्ना]भूम्यो दे[देवीभ्यः] पल रुचितम् । भवत्य एव रुचितम् । तस्मात्तृणीमाश्र  
 ना[हं] जीवाद् वातयामि । स्थितास्ते विलक्षा । सुप्तादृष्टागाः । छागमूष्यसमेन तु धनेन देवीभ्यो नैवेद्यानि दापितानि ॥

Jinamanḍana's version is to be found in the *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp 155 ff

97 *Prabandhacintāmanī*, p. 233 and pp. 234-35 Both the stories stand in a reverse order in the *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp. 190 and 191

98 *Prabandhacintāmanī* XXII, 703 ff., *Prabandhacintāmanī*, p. 237, *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp. 246 f.

99 *Prabandhacintāmanī*, pp. 240 *Prabandhakosa*, pp. 112 ff., *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp. 263 ff.

100 *Kumārāpālacarita*, p. 267

101 *Prabandhacintāmanī* XXII, 731 ff. *Prabandhacintāmanī*, pp. 223 f. *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp. 188 f.

102 *Prabandhacintāmanī*, pp. 213 f., *Prabandhakosa*, pp. 100 f. *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp. 156 ff. and 272 ff.

103 The first story is found in the *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp. 213 f. The second one, which stands on pp. 267 f., at the end of the work, is in close relation to the Brahman legend about Sankhatayā and Hemacāyā, communicated by K. Forbes, *Rev. Mātā*, pp. 155 f. The latter is probably only an adaptation of the Jaina legend in the Brahman spirit.

104 *Prabandhacintāmanī* XXII, 710 ff., *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp. 236 f. By ordinary palm-trees, the Phoenix sylvestris or *Khajūrā* which is common in Western India, is probably meant. By the *Sītābā* the specimens of the Borissus flabelliformis, rare in Gujarat, are probably meant.

105 *Prabandhacintāmanī* XXII, 769, ff. The remaining *Prabandhas*, too, maintain that Kumārāpāl presented his kingdom to Hemacandra. The motive for this is, however, given differently.

106 *Kumārāpālacarita*, p. 116

107 *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp. 211-223. At the end of the work, on p. 279, there is a further list of *Bṛandhas* which diverges in many points.

108 *Prabandhacintāmanī* XXII, 850 f. *Prabandhacintāmanī*, pp. 237 f. *Prabandhakosa*, pp. 102 ff. and p. 112. *Kumārāpālacarita*, p. 243 and p. 279.

109 *Prabandhacintāmanī* XXII, 852-53. *Prabandhacintāmanī*, pp. 244 f., *Kumārāpālacarita*, pp. 286 ff. As Jinapandana's account of the manner of Kumārāpāl's death may possibly contain historical elements, it may be given in full. It runs (on pp. 284 f.) as follows:

तत श्रीगुरुविरहानुरो राजा यावद् दैर्घ्यं प्रतापमल्ल राज्ये निवेशयति तावत् किञ्चिद्विकृतराजवर्गभेदोऽजयपालो  
आनुव्य श्रीकुमारपालदेवस्य विषमदात् । तेन विधुरितरात्रो राजा ज्ञातव्यपञ्च स्वा विषापहारशुक्तिः कोशस्था श्रीप्रमानय-  
तेति निजामपुरपानाविदेश । ते च ता पुरायजयपालगृहीता ज्ञात्वा तूर्णीं स्थिता । अत्रानुरे व्राकुले समस्तराजलोके विषा-  
[प]हारे[र]शुक्तेरनाग[म]ह[हे]नु ज्ञात्वा कोऽपि पपाठ । इत्याकर्ण्य यात[व]द राज[जा] विस्मयति तावत् कोऽपि आम-  
न्नस्थ । कृतकृत्योऽसि भूपाल कलिकालेऽपि भूतले । आमन्नयति तेन त्वा शा विधिः । इत्योर्लक्ष लक्ष दत्त्वा निप्राना-  
गमहेतु ज्ञात्वा ।

अर्थिभ्यः कनकस्य दीपकपिशा विश्राणिता कोटयो

वादेषु प्रतिवादिना प्रतिहता शास्त्रार्थगर्मा गिर ।

उन्नान[उत्खात] प्रतिरोपितेर्नुपतिभिः सरैरिव क्रीडित

कनैव्य कृतमर्थना यदि विधेस्तत्रापि सजा वयम् ॥

इयुर्वीर्यं दशधाराधना कृत्वा गृहीतानशनो वर्षे ३० मास ८ दिवसान् २० राज्यं कृत्वा कृतार्थी कृतपुरुषार्थे

सर्वश हविः सखरन् गुरुमपि श्रीहेमचन्द्रप्रभु

धर्मं तद्वदित च कल्मषमपीप्रक्षालनापुष्कल ।

व्योमाश्रयस्य १२३० वसरे विस[प]लहयुत्सवस्यमूर्च्छाभरो

मृत्वावाप कुमारपालनृपति स ख्य[व्य]न्तराशीशताम् ॥

The omitted line contains a hopelessly mutilated Prakrit verse



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## ERRATA.

Page	5	line	7	for	<i>Kumāravācariya</i>	read	<i>Kumāravācariya</i>
"	7	"	27	"	furious	"	furious
"	"	"	33	"	pursuation	"	remonstrance
"	9	"	8	"	Srimāli	"	Sīmāli
"	14	"	28	"	Kumudendra	"	Kumudacandra
"	"	"	44	"	astar	"	after
"	16	"	39	"	dato	"	data
"	18	"	26	"	matrics	"	metrics
"	20	"	33	"	punturbed	"	perturbed
"	23	"	25	"	Māhavya	"	Mahāvīra
"	26	"	29	"	seventeenth	"	seventh
"	27	last line	"	"	materials of	"	metrical
"	33	"	"	"	as	"	above
"	35	after line 13 add indicate that Hemacandra had always been in connection with Udayana's family Thus all the <i>Prabavallhas</i>					
"	36	line	11	after	the Court-Pandit	add	of Jayasinha
"	"	"	13	for	perhaps	read	perhaps
"	37	"	41	"	radiated	"	radiated
"	45	"	41	"	Tribhuvanpāla..	"	Tribhuvanapāla ..
"	47	"	13	"	after	"	before
"	49	"	33	"	<i>Prāmāṇamīmāṃsā</i>	"	<i>Prāmāṇamīmāṃsā</i>
"	50	"	8	"	signature	"	colophon
"	51	"	18	"	merchant	"	merchants
"	"	"	20	"	"Scholar"	"	"scholars"
"	52	ll	6 & 29	"	Kunteśvari	"	Kanteśvari
"	53	"	19 & 22	"	Dāhala	"	Dāhala
"	54	l	15	"	Kunteśvari	"	Kanteśvari
"	56	l	2	"	register	"	registers
"	"	"	6	"	title	"	titles
"	"	"	16	"	king Dāhala	"	king of Dāhala

N B—As mentioned in the Preface, I am thankful to Professor Dr M Winternitz for indicating the misprints in this essay

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